The Nation

October 15, 1990 $1.75 U.S./$2.25 Car

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
East Orange, NJ 07019

OCT 4

EDITORIAL

DELUSIONS BEFORE DAWN

As Boris Kagarlitsky, a socialist in Moscow's City Council, said in a recent visit to the *Nation* offices, it's ironic that party propaganda that once promised a consumer paradise to sell Communism, with its five-year plans, is now making the same promises to sell capitalism.

"Most people still think that if they get rid of the Communists, all their problems will be solved," he says. But if Communist central planners were unable to meet expectations after five years, why should market-oriented planners be more successful after 500 days? Even Shatalin is hesitant to say that his shock program would lead to higher living standards. "In God we trust," he said, and then admitted to consulting the stars along with his Kantorovich and Keynes.

It is partly this doubt behind the marketeers' usual bluster that led to the overwhelming vote to grant Gorbachev emergency powers and to implement a hybrid economic plan. After all, no one knows how Soviet citizens will respond to the reforms. Polls show they are wary of a market system that will radically change the social contract on which they have come to depend.

And no one knows how the transformation might be made. Since 1987 local authorities have ignored Moscow's directives for freeing state enterprises, and in Boris Yeltsin's Russian Republic, which has passed the 500-day plan unalloyed, many officials have not even read the plan, let alone formulated a budget for 1991 based on its provisions.

Only firsthand experience of capitalism, says Kagarlitsky, can change the Soviet view of it: "One of the good things about the market is that it creates real possibilities for the development of a left opposition. Because to oppose something you must first have it."

PEACE PLAN FOR SALVADOR
Leonel Gonzales

THE COURT'S NEW MAJORITY
Herman Schwartz

GOLF CRISIS IN OKA
Philip Raphals

VONNEGUT'S BLACK BALLOONS
John Leonard

JAMESON ON ADORNO
Michael Ferber

'REVERSIBLE DESTINY'
Arthur C. Danto

THE SUPERPOWER TRIP

POLICING THE GULF—AND THE WORLD

MICHAEL T. KLARE

"In the life of a nation," President Bush declared on August 8, "we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe." Those words, spoken as the first detachments of U.S. soldiers were arriving in Saudi Arabia, are perhaps the most revealing yet uttered on the Persian Gulf crisis. More than anything else—more than the price of oil, or the configuration of power in the Middle East—the decision to send troops concerns the nature of America's national identity; specifically, America's role as a global power in the post-cold war environment. If Bush and his associates have their way, the United States will emerge from the present crisis as the industrial world's enforcer, ready to provide troops and shed blood in the name of global economic stability.

This yearning for a refurbished national identity is closely associated with anxiety over the durability of America's status as a global superpower. "Do we want to remain a superpower?" Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Carlisle Trost asked in April. The answer, he said, "is a resounding 'yes.'" Similarly, on the eve of the U.S. invasion of Panama, Gen. Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, reportedly avowed, "We have to put a shingle outside our door saying 'Superpower Lives Here,' no matter what the Soviets do, even if they evacuate from Eastern Europe."

The desire to retain our status as a superpower, no matter what

(*Cont. on p. 416*)

The Nation. 125

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXCHANGE.

BACK TO SCHOOL

Brookline, Mass.

If Bruce Shapiro wishes to write a one-sided article ["Rad-Baiting Comes to Brookline," May 21], that's one thing; but when he cites me and seeks to portray me as a right-wing McCarthyite without the courtesy of a phone call to understand my position, it's another matter.

Until May 1 when my term expired, I was the only "liberal" on the Board of Selectmen. However, Shapiro just says "a town selectman whose child was taking the World in Crisis course, picked up on the issue." In fact, I was presented with a copy of the teacher's guide, written by four people, three of whom Shapiro says were Jewish. Actually, three were not Jewish.

Shapiro implies that these words from a teacher's guide are not prejudiced: "But students do need to know that the Israelis created a complex, democratic, social-welfare oriented state, at least for the Jews." He perhaps chooses to ignore, as the teachers ignored, that Israeli Arabs have the same educational, medical and voting rights that Israeli Jews have; that Israeli Arabs serve in the Knesset.

Shapiro cites one page of my critique reprinted in the local paper. Had he done his research, he would have found that I wrote nine single-spaced pages about a twenty-page course outline fraught with historical and factual inaccuracies. (And, by the way, I wrote nothing in red; the paper chose that color for its front page. My comments were in black ink.)

Shapiro chose to ignore the following: "There is no 'elegant' way to teach Israeli society as there is to teach Islamic culture." At a public meeting of the school committee I stated that if it had said, "There is no 'elegant' way to teach black culture as there is to teach South African society," the course would not only have been dropped, the person who wrote it would have been fired! No one disagreed. I then noted that no one should be fired, but that the course should be reviewed and the bias eliminated.

Part of being "liberal" has always made me defend academic freedom and intellectual integrity. However, when teachers present material that is historically and factually incorrect and is intended to indoctrinate or propagandize, I do not believe that there is an absolute right to academic freedom. There is an absolute right for students to learn facts. Opinions also have their place in the classroom but not disguised as truth.

Finally, Shapiro ignored the fact that I worked out the solution with the teachers and that I encouraged them to continue teaching the course next year. If "rad-baiting" has come to Brookline, it was more by Shapiro's poison pen than by my words or deeds. *Zvi A. Sesling*

SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

Brookline, Mass.

The Brookline school controversies concern academic standards and professionalism. They are too important to be dismissed by name-calling, like "McCarthyism." A few corrections: The effort by 450 petitioners to save Advanced Placement European History from cancellation was in no way an attack on non-European courses, since they had long existed in Brookline. Rather, it was a defense of the rights of high-achieving students (tagged as "elitists") to study with a particularly rigorous, inspiring teacher, even if he is a conservative. Sadly, the effort failed.

I in no way opposed the teaching of Marx in the high school, as suggested by the account of my waving *Marx for Beginners* and *Capitalism for Beginners* at the school committee. The account neglected to mention that these items are comic books. As I wrote in the local newspaper, "Surely a higher level treatment of Marx could be found."

The controversy over the Mideast course materials went far beyond Jewish sensitivity. It was initiated by others, who perceived an unprofessional slant equating Zionism with racism, and against Israel's right to exist at all. The materials were reviewed by eminent non-Jewish historians like Prof. David Wyman who found them lacking in accuracy, professionalism and historical perspective. In his words, they were "amateur" and "inculcating." The school system, to its credit, decided to rework the material.

There are important issues to debate. How can expectations be raised for children at risk, as well as high achievers? What can schools do to help children get along in a multicultural society? What is the proper emphasis on academics versus social responsibility? What are the ethics of teaching social responsibility while respecting diverse views? What is the proper emphasis on content versus process in curriculum? Those debates are stifled by name-calling such as elitism, racism and McCarthyism.

Robert M. Costrell, president
Committee for Quality Education

A TREE GROWS IN BROOKLINE

Brookline, Mass.

A first reading of Bruce Shapiro's article made me think he had overdone it, although C.Q.E.'s assault on the schools had gone on for an entire academic year with little respite. But as I reluctantly trudged to P.T.A. and larger meetings, read the *Brookline Citizen*, listened to teachers and other parents, I realized that Shapiro had actually understated his case. Brickbats and innuendo, letters to the editor and the superintendent and petitions were gaining the Committee for Quality Education a nonparent audience that in fact if not by intention was destabilizing the schools.

Shapiro's article, local in focus but national in implication, had an effect. In a decisive emergency school committee meeting, my neighbor challenged C.Q.E. members to defend their actions before a large community. Silence. Silence followed by C.Q.E.'s withdrawal of its pernicious Town Meeting Warrant, calling for classrooms "free of any systematic political, social, religious or historical bias." With the schools open for the fall, that silence will not last long, but Shapiro and *The Nation* have reminded us that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. *George Abbott White*

SHAPIRO REPLIES

New Haven, Conn.

Readers might be interested in events since my article was written. In late April, the Committee for Quality Education wrote to the town's superintendent of schools accusing an award-winning fifth grade teacher of "politicizing" her classroom. The C.Q.E. also charged that a new support group for the Brookline educators, the Teachers' Circle, had implemented "a program of politicization for the children of Brookline."

In May, the C.Q.E. asked Brookline residents to approve the Town Meeting Warrant. The attack on the teacher and that warrant brought several hundred people to the school committee meeting on May 14, where they successfully opposed the C.Q.E.

These letters prove once again that when people talk about "educational excellence" they are really talking politics. Education arouses such strong feelings precisely because we presume schools to be not "objective," bias-free institutions but rather storehouses of a community's biases, beliefs and values. The politics comes in determining just where those biases lie. Zvi Sesling and others want their town's high school to teach a single view of Israel and the Palestinians as a reflection of what they hold to be community values. In other words, to "indoctrinate or propagandize," as Sesling puts it.

C.Q.E. president Costrell seems to consider a public school curriculum to be a static, standardized document. But education is made as much from the daily interactions between teachers and students as it is from a specific reading list. It's always amazing to me how little regard the Bloom-Bennett crowd seems to have for what actually occurs in a classroom.

Brookline finally stood up admirably in defense of its teachers. But what happened there makes it clear that nationally the language for a public school witch hunt is all too available. It's not at all farfetched to imagine a national campaign of political harassment and intimidation directed at teachers who promote multiculturalism, nontraditional classroom structure and other legacies of progressive school reform. *Bruce Shapiro*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 251, Number 12

EXCHANGE

402 *Zvi A. Sesling, Robert M. Costrell George Abbott White, Bruce Shapiro*

EDITORIALS

401 Delusions Before Dawn
403 Sheik Down
404 Games Boys Play
405 Cardinal Sins *Thomas M. Disch*

COLUMNS

405 Remembering Stockman *Calvin Trillin*
406 Minority Report *Christopher Hitchens*

ARTICLES

401 The Superpower Trip: Policing the Gulf—and the World *Michael T. Klare*
407 Latin American "Yankeestroika": A Plan for Peace in El Salvador *Leonel Gonzales*
410 The Souter Factor: The Majority at the Supreme Court *Herman Schwartz*
413 From the Oka Barricades: Mohawks Rouse the Captive Nations *Philip Raphals*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

421 Vonnegut: Hocus Pocus *John Leonard*
425 Jameson: Late Marxism: Adorno, or, The Persistence of the Dialectic *Michael Ferber*
427 Theater *Hal Gelb*
429 Art *Arthur C. Danto*
430 Crossing Harvard Yard (poem) *Olga Karman Mendell*
431 Long Island Night (poem) *Debora Greger*

Illustrations by J-C Suarès

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors*, George Black, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor*, Micah L. Sifry; *Literary Editor*, Elsa Dixler; *Associate Literary Editor*, Art Winslow; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Managing Editor*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Copy Chief*, Roane Carey; *Copy Editor*, Judith Long; *Assistant Copy Editor*, Anne-Marie Otey; *Assistant to the Editor*, Dennis Selby; *Interns*, Sefka Cibulka, Nicholas Clegg, Alyssa Katz, George Lerner, Danzy Senna (Washington), Peter Siskind, Claire Thevenoux, Saralyn Wilson.

Departments: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Fiction*, John Leonard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Theater*, Thomas M. Disch, Moira Hodgson; *Bureaus*: *Washington*, Kai Bird; *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *United Kingdom*, E.P. Thompson; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors*: Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Christopher Hitchens (*Minority Report*), Aryeh Neier (*Watching Rights*), Edward Sorel, Calvin Trillin; *Contributing Editors*: Kai Bird, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, Jefferson Morley, Katha Pollitt, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Herman Schwartz, Michael Thomas, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener; *Editorial Board*: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Neil Postman, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, David Weir, Roger Wilkins. *Editors at Large*, Richard Pollak, Katrina vanden Heuvel. *On Leave*, David Corn.

Manuscripts: The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

President, David Parker; *Associate Publisher and General Manager*, Neil Black; *Associate Publisher and Advertising Director*, Chris Calhoun; *Advertising Sales Representative*, Caerthan Banks; *Classified Advertising Director*, Gary Pomerantz; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Ivor A. Richardson, Shirleathia Watson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Vice President and Circulation Director*, Margaret Pyle; *Subscription Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Circulation Coordinator*, Jacqueline Lucas; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Data Entry and Mail Coordinator*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Production*, Terry Miller; *Typography*, Sandy McCroskey; *Vice President and Nation Associates Director*, Sandra Zickefoose, *Nation Associates Assistant Director*, Carlos Durazo; *Permissions and Back Issues*, Josh Neufeld; *Publicity and Special Projects Director*, Peter G. Meyer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. © 1990 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. *Subscription Price*: 1 year, $36; 2 years, $64. Add $14 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Missed issues must be claimed within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. This issue went to press on September 27.

EDITORIALS.

Sheik Down

At various moments and before diverse audiences, President Bush has described his intervention in the Persian Gulf as a defense of the American petroleum-based way of life, a police action against the modern Hitler and a response to an international call for collective security. Others have their own theories to explain the sudden, enormous military buildup (Saddam Hussein thinks Bush simply "went crazy"), many of which could contain grains of truth. But the most obvious reason of all is the one that gets the least attention: fulfillment of the historic contract between Saudi Arabia and the United States.

The marriage of American imperial power and Saudi resources (both natural and financial) has just passed its golden anniversary. Ever since oil was discovered in Arabia, on the eve of World War II, the United States has built its Middle East policy around control of that substance: its production, pricing and flow through the waterways and pipelines of the region. Successive U.S. administrations have overthrown the government of Iran, bribed Egypt, created an Israeli client, sent troops to Lebanon (twice), patrolled the Persian Gulf and engaged in hundreds of high jinks and low tricks both blatant and covert. But the key has been the "special relationship" begun when Franklin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Roosevelt posed with King Ibn Saud in one of the most famous photo ops of the century.

For many years, Saud and his successors had only to pump oil and sell it cheap to the West in order to keep to the supply side of the bargain. America was prepared to protect the royal domain, but little protection was needed. With the rise of Arab nationalism—a version of the anticolonial struggle sweeping three continents—the deal got stickier. In the 1950s, the United States did what was necessary to keep the Saudis safe from antiroyalists like Nasser in Egypt, Qassim in Iraq and Mossadegh in Iran.

The chief contradiction of the policy, of course, grew out of U.S. support for Israel and U.S. promises to Saudi Arabia. The whole edifice almost crumbled in the wake of the Israeli-Arab wars of 1967 and 1973, but the basic deal was successfully renegotiated. Saudi Arabia would get high-tech arms, protection and a free hand in the gulf, despite Israeli complaints. And along with cheap oil, the Saudis would supply the United States with pots of petrodollars—not only invested in U.S. banks, stocks and real estate but delivered in the form of financial and military aid to guerrillas fighting America's counterrevolutionary wars throughout the world.

Although the new deal was struck by Jimmy Carter, it flourished during the 1980s. Literally speaking, Saudi Arabia financed the Reagan Doctrine. It saved the Nicaraguan *contras* by sending them millions in 1984 and 1985, when Congress had cut off military aid. It bankrolled the training of Jonas Savimbi's murderous Unita rebels from Angola (via Morocco, another U.S. client), and it sent money and weapons to the unspeakable Renamo, South Africa's surrogates in Mozambique (which even the State Department finally rejected for their gross violations of human rights). Saudi Arabia was the main financier of the mujahedeen in Afghanistan, where the brutal war has been maintained for years at U.S. urging despite possibilities of a negotiated settlement. There's also evidence to show that America got the Saudis to arrange and pay for the 1985 car bombing of Hezbollah's headquarters in Beirut—a little gambit that failed and killed eighty civilians.

The U.S.-Saudi alliance is not an exercise in collective security but a measure for collective aggression. No one knows how many have been killed, tortured and displaced because of the contract. Some will say it was necessary because of the late cold war. But as events in the desert now prove, the cold war had nothing to do with the case. It's simply about oil.

Games Boys Play

For two years in a row now Congress has packed its bags and gone home for the election recess without passing a nearly completed piece of child care legislation. Last year Marian Wright Edelman, the eloquent president of the Children's Defense Fund, publicly rebuked two prominent liberal Democrats for their dilatory tactics. In a memo she accused Representatives Tom Downey and George Miller of leading a "private guerrilla war" to kill child care legislation. "Is having it all your way or nothing so important that you are willing to rob millions of children and working parents of the immediate chance to get decent child care as soon as possible?"

Downey called Edelman's memo immature and petulantly announced he would no longer return her telephone calls. Miller said that Edelman, who for twenty years has been among the country's most forceful advocates of children's interests, was "hysterical and behaving like someone spurned."

Behind the insults lies an important tactical dispute that must be resolved in the next few weeks if child care legislation is to pass. As in the two previous years, the House and the Senate have passed different versions of a bill to provide $1.75 billion to states for expansion of child care programs for low-income families. In the Senate version the entire $1.75 billion would come from discretionary funding sources, subject each year to Congressional approval. In the House bill the bulk of the funding would come through an increase in existing programs, among them—and most in dispute—Title XX social services block grants. From the point of view of child welfare activists, this is not the way to go. "Title XX is not a funding stream that will grow," argues Amy Wilkins of the Children's Defense Fund, "while even under Reagan we got increases in discretionary funding for such programs as Head Start."

Downey, who characterizes his disagreement with Edelman as a "battle between the liberals of the sixties and the liberals of the nineties," says his opponents refuse to recognize limits. Even if there is a spending cap, he argues, tactically it is better to fund child care through an existing program. "That way," his press spokesman says, "at least you're assured of getting an authorization every year."

Downey's is a minimalist strategy. Its assumption is that one cannot expect funding for child care to grow in times of heavy budget deficits. However, tacking child care onto the amorphous Title XX spending package, which funds all sorts of entitlement programs, might actually make it easier for a budget-conscious Congress to vote for cuts in the program. By contrast, faced with a free-standing child care measure, most politicians would have more difficulty voting against increases or for cuts.

With Congress determined to adjourn by mid-October, the dispute threatens to delay passage of the bill for yet another year. And even if Congress can get its act together, Bush is threatening to veto any bill on the ground that it would bust the budget or, despite amazingly liberal requirements, discriminate against religious day care facilities. A presidential veto on a family issue as popular as child care would be politically costly, and it may be a bluff. Republicans in the budget summit meetings taking place at Andrews Air Force Base are trying to hold the child care bill hostage to a Democratic vote for a cut in the capital gains tax. Meanwhile, any sense of urgency is decidedly lacking. "Child care just seems to be a 'feel good' issue," says Amy Wilkins. "It is not as pressing as the S&L bailout or the gulf crisis. And why? Well, they're mostly boys up there, and kids are not high among their priorities."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cardinal Sins

On September 19 an Off Off Broadway theater received a letter from its landlord ordering it to halt its presentation of a play or expect eviction proceedings. The landlord is the Archdiocese of New York; the play, a thirty-five-minute monologue about an archbishop confined to a detoxification center after a drunk driving accident that killed a pregnant woman; the playwright, Nation *theater critic Thomas M. Disch, whose open letter to John Cardinal O'Connor, Archbishop of New York, follows.*

Dear John,

From a strictly personal vantage, I must be grateful to the Archdiocese for its efforts to prevent my play *The Cardinal Detoxes* from being performed at the RAPP Theater. The stir you've caused represents the kind of publicity money can't buy. But I don't expect my feelings of gratitude will be shared by the more than thirty theater groups, artists and social service organizations who must face a threat of eviction along with my producer, the RAPP Theater Company.

The church's spokesman, Joseph Zwilling, notes that the lease RAPP signed prohibits "any language, activity or program which would be detrimental to the landlord's reputation as a Roman Catholic Church." Putting aside the question of whether First Amendment rights can be abrogated by a rental lease, I must ask, When criticism is based upon matters of public record, scandal and notoriety (and all the fictive scandals referred to in my play have clear parallels in news reports of the past few years), can the *critic* be blamed for damaging the church's reputation?

In this regard, let me quote another Archbishop, Alphonsus Penney, lately of the Archdiocese of St. John's, Newfoundland, who was forced to resign his see on July 18 after he had for years dodged, denied and lied about the patterns of priestly pedophilia among Newfoundland clergy. "We are a sinful church," he wrote upon resigning. "We are naked. Our anger, our pain, our anguish, our shame and our vulnerability are clear to the whole world." If the church's shame and nakedness are clear to the whole world (and certainly not only in Newfoundland), is the mirror of art to be blamed for reflecting that situation?

The Cardinal Detoxes does not advert to the subject that was Archbishop Penney's Waterloo; it doesn't even score easy points off Father Ritter's debacle, though his case was surely a paradigm of the church's handling of such matters: indignant denials, wrath against the media, a week of embarrassed waffling as the denials collapsed beneath the mass of facts, followed by the abrupt disappearance of the unrepentant sinner from the public scene (another variety of absconded clerical felon serves as the protagonist of my own play).

The themes *The Cardinal Detoxes* does treat—the *Realpolitik* behind the church's positions on abortion, AIDS education, shrinking parishes, diminishing vocations, women's aspirations for the priesthood, and the hierarchy's ingrained hypocrisy—are the regular concern of most articulate, liberal Catholics (they do exist, though increasingly they are leaving the church—or being evicted). Witness almost any issue of *National Catholic Reporter*, the nation's foremost independent Catholic journal. Yet what is common knowledge in the pages of the *Reporter* has been decreed forbidden fruit on the stage of RAPP.

And not just there, of course. Were my play to be moved elsewhere and draw audiences, it would surely receive the same kind of systematic persecution enjoyed by *Sister Mary Ignatius Explains It All for You*, Christopher Durang's *succès d'Inquisition*, which is most recently being harassed in Costa Mesa, California, by a community board of self-appointed censors that seeks to deny public funds to anything it considers offensive.

In an article dealing with the Newfoundland scandal, a writer in the latest issue of the *Reporter* observes: "There is a long and venerable theological and intellectual tradition . . . that respects and fosters *quaestiones* and *disputationes*. The current state of affairs is exactly the opposite. The U.S. hierarchy is espousing and enforcing a policy that restricts discussion and refuses to engage in any intelligent interaction." I daresay that Dante himself would be banned from RAPP's stage if he were to offer an updated theatrical version of his *Divine Comedy* with contemporary Catholic clergymen slotted into their appropriate infernal niches. I daresay, too, that he wouldn't be surprised when he received his eviction notice. *Pax vobiscum,* THOMAS M. DISCH

★

REMEMBERING STOCKMAN

Remember Stockman, White House snitch,
Who said that tax breaks for the rich
Remained the goal of Reagan's guys,
Despite the populist disguise
Of theories (then of great renown)
About how wealth would trickle down?
And everyone attacked this man.
One doesn't give away the plan.
The hand that feeds one one can't bite.
Well, yes, but he was also right:
We know they worked without surcease
To make the fat cats more obese.
So when George Bush says jobs will flow
And money trickle down below
If Wall Street types who buy and sell
Can keep the gains when they do well,
Remember Stockman, White House snitch.
Remember tax breaks for the rich.

Calvin Trillin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

When Israel blasted the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981, I was reporting from Jerusalem and criticized Menachem Begin for describing a potential Iraqi bomb as a threat to "the Jewish people." Did he know of a thermonuclear device that wouldn't incinerate Palestinians, Bedouins and Druse? It proved yet again that Albert Einstein (who had called Begin a fascist in *The New York Times* in 1948) was right to say that the bomb changed everything except the way we think. Now I hear of Palestinians praising Saddam and urging him to use chemical weapons against "the Israelis." Even if this is a taunt to annoy the occupiers, it is a very stupid taunt, and has encouraged those in Israel who say—employing what pathology I dare not think—that gas masks should be issued only to Jews. (Incidentally, having written about the place as a metaphor only a month ago, I now discover that Samarra is the site of Saddam's chemical weaponry plant.)

* * *

It must be unbearably irritating for the Palestinians to be told by Israeli and Western liberals that their sympathy for pan-Arabism has let the side down. There is an unmistakable note of "and after all we've *done* for you." Last month in London, the new P.L.O. envoy to Britain, Afif Safieh, was invited to Chatham House, where he said the following: "We have been brought to believe that conflicts should be resolved through negotiation, dialogue and persuasion. . . . So now we apply those same principles to the gulf crisis and from the very first day . . . we were targeted as if we had taken sides." This may be a somewhat self-serving line, but it is undoubtedly a less fierce position than that adopted by many Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. I had lunch recently with the Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, who told me gravely that every new baby is now being named Saddam. If that's what the *Episcopalian* Palestinians think . . .

* * *

There are three words that never seem to be mentioned in the present crisis: War Powers Act. The opponents of this fabled and rather clumsy piece of legislation like to argue that you can't have hundreds of chiefs forever putting in their two cents. But there has never been such a slow and public rehearsal for a conflict. As Richard Perle put it the other day, evidently annoyed by the reluctance of the Pentagon to pave Iraq, "People may not like a prolonged deployment of American forces to the gulf, but there is no question that they prefer a long buildup followed by a short war to a short buildup followed by a long war." Much history was condensed into the crafting of that pregnant sentence.

* * *

Whenever there is a crisis on the eastern frontiers of the empire, some group of thugs decides to abolish democracy in Pakistan. Without eliciting the mildest squeal from Washington, the soldiery deposed the elected government of Benazir Bhutto. If they calculated that now was the time, they obviously calculated right and have sealed the bargain by sending a token force to the international brigade for the rescue of the Abdul Aziz dynasty. But then what is all this about law and democracy? And by the way, what about the Pakistani bomb? Is it designed to kill only Indians, while leaving Kashmiris unscathed?

* * *

I have met Patrick Buchanan and have debated with him on television. I do not think he is a Nazi. He is a solid, homegrown McCarthyite with proto-fascist tendencies. (He does not think that the Jews killed his Christ, but he has the stout patrolman's suspicion that they may not have told us everything they know.) I am amused by the horror displayed by neocon blowhards like A.M. Rosenthal and Eric Breindel, who now attempt to taint Buchanan with the stench of Auschwitz. They have known his views for a long time. When he said that nature was taking revenge on AIDS victims, that Nicaraguans should be slaughtered, that Libya should be pounded, that Salman Rushdie was a vile blasphemer, that Martin Luther King Jr. was a suspect character, that Oliver North was the American ideal, was he not advertising a certain cluster of opinions? But for all or most of that time, Rosenthal, Breindel and the rest of the neocons were his allies. Now they call him a Nazi because he doesn't care for the influence of Yitzhak Shamir—the only living politician in the Middle East who actually offered himself as a volunteer for the Hitler side in World War II (see "Minority Report," August7/14, 1989).

* * *

Most of the left has detested Saddam Hussein for years if only for his treatment of the Kurds, but has had doubts about the justice and viability of the colonial borders enclosing Iraq. Hence much of the present confusion. Leave it to the conservative Arabists to get these points in the wrong order. Writing in *The National Review*, J.B. Kelly says, all right then, if Saddam thinks the borders are colonial let's redraw them. "After Saddam Hussein and his detestable regime have been dealt with, northern Iraq—i.e., the old *vilayet* of Mosul—should be allowed to revert to Turkey, under a United Nations guarantee, if necessary (the Turks can be relied upon to honor it), of a substantial degree of internal autonomy for the Kurds." Well, really. Redress antique injustices by giving the Kurds to the Turks—who forbid their language to be spoken and even deny their national existence. As for U.N. guarantees, I presume that Kelly has forgotten the long-standing Turkish occupation of Cyprus, financed by the United States in defiance of repeated resolutions from all international bodies.

Martin Peretz also called for the dismemberment of Iraq, in a subsequent issue of *The New Republic*, and employed many of Kelly's images and examples. One contribution, however, was entirely his own

> Wake up anyone in the middle of the night in Mosul or Basra and ask him what he is. The one answer you won't get is that he's an Iraqi.

I am prepared to pay "good money" to discover when last, and under whose auspices, Peretz performed this exercise in investigative *tendresse*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

LATIN AMERICAN 'YANKEESTROIKA'

A Plan for Peace In El Salvador

After six rounds of peace talks about the future of El Salvador, there is stalemate. The process has been more than useful in disposing of secondary issues and illuminating the central problem, which is the sacrosanct position of the armed forces. The vast gulf between the two sides on this point now makes progress impossible, and continued military intransigence may impede the ability of U.N. mediators to keep the talks alive. So what comes next? If the F.M.L.N. takes the war back to the battlefield, it will pay a heavy political price. Full U.S. military aid would immediately be restored, and in the editorial pages and in Congress, a new offensive would be taken as evidence that radical extremists are now in charge. Quite the opposite: The only purpose of renewed fighting would be to revive the peace process. A further resort to arms may be the only alternative the right will allow—which is, after all, how the Salvadoran revolution began in the first place. —*The Editors*

LEONEL GONZALES

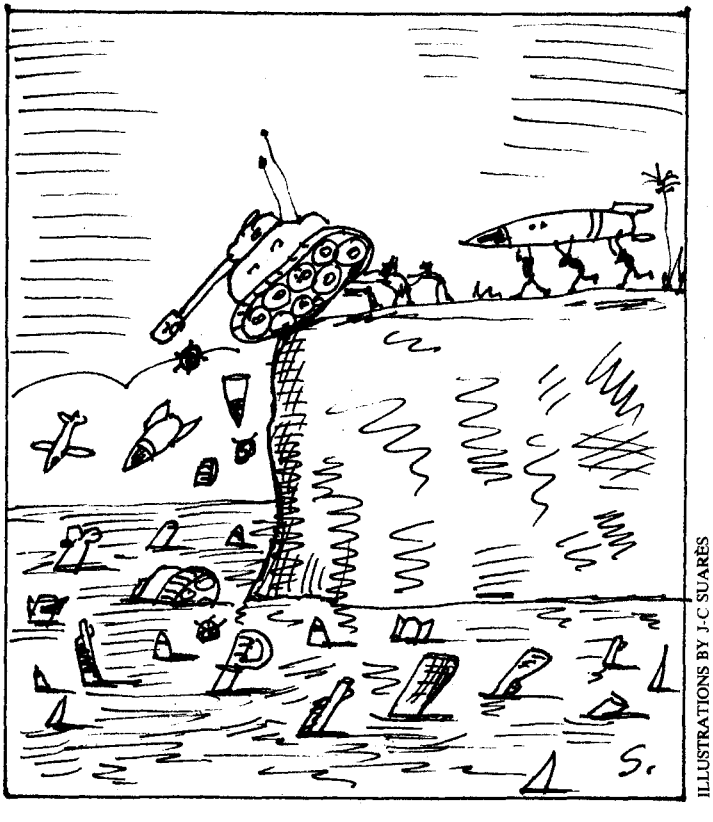
At a time when momentous changes are occurring throughout the world, the struggle for democracy in El Salvador has reached its peak. A broad democratic movement has achieved unprecedented strength and unity. The political-military offensive launched by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (F.M.L.N.) on November 11, 1989, showed that the revolutionary forces could not be defeated militarily and that a political solution to the war was essential. Those factors created the conditions for United Nations–mediated talks to bring an end to El Salvador's eleven-year-old civil war.

The initiation of these negotiations represents a real victory for the democratic and revolutionary movement in El Salvador and opens the possibility of establishing real democracy. However, many observers—including some of our staunchest supporters—have misinterpreted these events. They view the F.M.L.N. entering into negotiations with the Salvadoran government as one more example of the failure of revolution. The collapse of many socialist governments in Eastern Europe and the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua are interpreted as meaning that there is no longer space for fundamental social change. These views, however, are based on both a misreading of the situation in El Salvador and a myopic view of the massive changes the world is undergoing.

Many of the political and structural problems that gave rise to the explosions in Eastern Europe exist in most of Latin America in a much more exaggerated form. These conditions are stimulating the development of a new, highly conscious movement for democracy.

The changes in Eastern Europe were achieved through a struggle of the people for democratic freedoms against a bureaucratic apparatus that had been installed over their heads. Those changes occurred with a minimal loss of human life. This was due to the fact that the popular will was respected by the armed forces and the ruling parties of each country, with the exception of Romania, where both were divided. Change was also tolerated—and at times even encouraged—by the dominant superpower in the region, the Soviet Union. Such a process of peaceful evolution has never been permitted in Latin America. Attempts at peaceful change in El Salvador, whether through demonstrations or even elections, have always been greeted with wholesale massacre at the hands of the country's ruling elite, with the full backing of the United States. This use of violence against a movement demanding democracy and economic justice plunged our country into civil war.

The United States has yet to go through its own "Yankeestroika" in relation to Latin America. U.S. policy toward its "backyard" has been affected by the end of the cold war in contradictory ways. On the one hand, the disappearance of the threat of "Soviet expansionism" has cut away the ideological underpinnings that were used to justify decades of intervention. This has opened the way for the United



ILLUSTRATIONS BY J-C SUARÈS

Comandante Leonel Gonzales, born Salvador Sánchez Cerén, is a former schoolteacher. He is one of the five members of the General Command of the F.M.L.N. This article was translated by Michael Davis of the U.S.-El Salvador Institute for Democratic Development.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

States to play a more constructive role in resolving regional conflicts. On the other hand, now freed from the pressure of a socialist superpower, the United States is able to carry out an aggressive policy of gunboat diplomacy, so well exemplified by the invasion of Panama. And U.S. economic policies toward Latin America have only made the region more volatile.

A new social and political movement has arisen from political and economic marginalization and social injustice. This movement has a deep-seated commitment to self-determination and democratization. Examples of this can be seen in the democratic process begun with the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979, the Workers' Party in Brazil, the movement led by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in Mexico and the popular movement in Chile. In El Salvador, this force has taken the form of a massive democratic revolutionary movement, the strength and complexity of which we are just beginning to comprehend.

At the end of the 1980s a trend favoring negotiations emerged in Central America. For the first time, Central American governments addressed the problems of the region from their own perspective. This trend was fostered by the political will of the government of Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua, to the point of his stepping down from office after elections were held. However, the government of El Salvador, facing an even more longstanding conflict than Nicaragua's, has demonstrated no such political will. Nor has the United States, its patron.

The choice of the vast majority of the people of El Salvador is clear. They want a negotiated political solution to the war, based on the establishment of a true political democracy that respects human rights, ends military domination of Salvadoran society and addresses the social injustices that have always plagued our country.

The election of the Arena party's Alfredo Cristiani to the presidency has done nothing but exacerbate social conflict. His extreme neoliberal economic policies include devaluing the colón by nearly 100 percent, rolling back the minimal agrarian reform, tightening agricultural credits, removing food price controls, ending export controls, denationalizing banks and raising gasoline prices. These are having the net effect of further impoverishing El Salvador's majority and benefiting only a very narrow group of economic interests.

More than just a pretty face...

France Today

France Today brings you an insider's view of contemporary France: political and business analyses, people, places, events and cultural insights. It's current, controversial, out-of-the-ordinary reading for the American who knows there's more to France than Chanel and champagne. *All in English.*

1 yr. (10 issues)/$25
To subscribe, call toll free
1-800-272-0620

1051 Divisadero, Suite 110
San Francisco, CA 94115

A wave of protest in the first months of the Cristiani government was met with increased repression. Last fall, after thousands of workers took to the streets in response to the government's economic plan, the military unleashed a wave of terror culminating in the bombing of the Fenastras union hall.

It was within this climate of increased polarization that the F.M.L.N. launched its powerful military offensive in the capital and on main highways on November 11. The army responded by indiscriminately bombing poor neighborhoods. As part of this desperate counteroffensive, the army's high command planned the elimination of the entire political opposition under the code name "Plan Jakarta." This plan was launched on November 16 with the murder of the six Jesuit priests and their two staff members.

The offensive proved the political and military strength of the F.M.L.N. to everyone. It demonstrated—even to members of El Salvador's moderate right—that a political solution to the conflict was a prerequisite for any political or economic project to move forward. It also became clear to anyone who had doubted it that the military and the hard-line right were capable of carrying out the most savage and cold-blooded of actions in order to maintain their hold on power.

We do not seek a military victory. Our military activity is a function of promoting a political solution that will allow for the development of true democracy in El Salvador. As long as the armed forces continue to impose their will through violence, the revolutionary armed struggle will remain necessary and legitimate. Without the November offensive, the current negotiations would not be taking place. Given the intransigence of the Salvadoran military and the United States on the crucial issue of the army and its continued reliance on overt political repression, it is likely that we will have to step up military pressure in order to advance the stalemated negotiating process.

El Salvador's democratic movement is growing and maturing through a new process of shared thinking and action known as *concertación*. Social forces once divided by organization, class or ideology are coming together in a common struggle for democracy, peace and social justice. These include parts of the business community and organizations, such as the Christian Democratic Party and the National Unity of Workers and Peasants, that were once funded by the United States. This process has required the F.M.L.N. to adjust many of its conceptions. We have come to understand that the role of vanguard is not a mantle to be worn or something that can be imposed on a social movement but rather a task that one strives to perform through learning from, representing the interests of, and leading a social movement.

A very democratic discussion has developed around the peace talks, with each social sector giving its input. The F.M.L.N. has attempted to represent these positions in its negotiating posture with the Salvadoran government. At times, the F.M.L.N. is criticized by one force or another in the democratic movement for not being hard enough on the Salvadoran government or for omitting key demands.

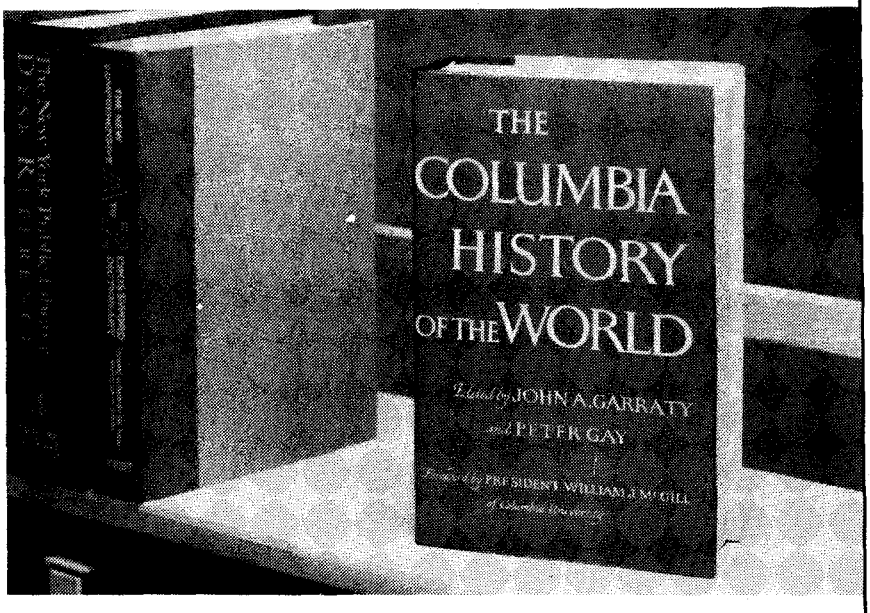
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Put 40 Famed Historians On Your Bookshelf For Only $9.95 (Pub.: $25.00)

Forty historians are better than one for the same reason that a great university like Columbia has a fully staffed department of History; the specialization of the individual scholar provides a deeper, more authoritative source of information.

With the Columbia History of the World you have the work of forty world-renown scholars collected in one volume (i.e. Peter Gray, Jacques Barzun).

This World History is a scholarly, yet general and easily understood, presentation of the vast scope of events and people from the very beginning of the planet. With over 1200 pages, it is crammed with information, explanations and insights into how our world came to be what it is today.



This extraordinary History has five major parts:

The Ancient World
The World: 500-1000
Towards Modernity
The Age of Revolution
The Modern World

As an example of how thoroughly a particular period of history is covered, here's one part:

Part II, The World: 500-1000:

The Arabs:
- The Arabs and the Rise of Islam
- The Disruption and Decline of the Arab Empire
- Islamic Civilization
- The Jews in the Arab World

Asia and Africa:
- Sub-Sahara Africa
- The Chinese Empire: The Great Era
- The Chinese Empire: Foreign Rulers and National Restoration
- Early Japan
- India
- Southeast Asia

Medieval Europe:
- The Early Middle Ages
- The High Middle Ages
- The Late Middle Ages
- The Jews in the Middle Ages

Byzantium:
- Early Byzantium
- Later Byzantium
- The Slavs and Early Russia

To further add to the enormous repository of information you can have at your fingertips, the Columbia History of the World provides some 100 detailed maps covering the periods discussed.

Putting the Columbia History of the World on your bookshelf is like getting yourself and your family a major in History. And at a "tuition fee" of just $9.95. All it requires is that you call us, toll-free, at **1-800-242-6657.**
Or mail the completed coupon.

OUR UNCONDITIONAL GUARANTEE: You must be completely satisfied with every item you buy from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it to us for a full refund.

Barnes & Noble

Booksellers Since 1873
126 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011

Please rush me ____ copies of Columbia History at the special price of $9.95 each. With this purchase get a FREE Barnes & Noble Catalog. Please add $1.75 each for postage and handling, and the appropriate sales tax for MI, CT, MA, MN, NJ, NY, PA & CA.

Name _____
Address _____ Apt.# _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Payment Method (check one)
☐ Check ☐ Mastercard Expiration Date
☐ Visa ☐ American Express Month/Year ☐☐☐☐
Credit Card Number ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐
Signature _____

Without purchase, send $1.00 with coupon for a Barnes & Noble Catalog.

1041631 KEY: C 234

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But this process of give-and-take has been crucial in developing a national consensus that will be the guarantee of any political solution and will lay the basis for building political and social democracy.

The U.N.-sponsored negotiations now under way are not simply talks to bring about an end to the war. They are aimed at addressing the root causes and conflicts that led to the war in the first place.

Initial agreements about process and agenda were reached in Geneva on April 4 and in Caracas, Venezuela, on May 21. These agreements are based on a realistic recognition of the current situation. First, that neither of the two armies has triumphed militarily and that persisting toward that end would only extend the conflict, further bleeding the nation. The second premise is that in order to achieve a halt to armed confrontation, it is first necessary to adopt a series of political agreements dealing with the armed forces, human rights, the legal system, the electoral system, constitutional reform, social and economic issues and verification by the United Nations. Central to this process of a negotiated political solution is an agreement on the demilitarization of Salvadoran society. Democratic institutions can develop only when they are free from military domination and the threat of a coup d'état. Our country's economic crisis cannot be resolved without alleviating the burden of a corrupt and bloated army.

We are proposing a gradual, symmetrical and simultaneous process to dismantle both armies and create a civilian police force. Immediate steps would include reducing the size of the government's army, purging officers guilty of gross human rights violations, ending the impunity of the armed forces and dismantling the paramilitary forces, death squads and those military units responsible for the worst human rights violations. This process would be supervised by a commission representing the major protagonists in the conflict, and it would be accompanied by the simultaneous dismantling of the F.M.L.N.'s armed forces and the total integration of the F.M.L.N. into the political life of the country.

Beyond demilitarization, F.M.L.N. proposals include provisions for human rights, basic democratic freedoms and electoral and judicial reform. If these reforms are implemented, the future of El Salvador could be determined through elections and other, more civilized means than civil war.

Hard-liners inside the Arena party, the oligarchy and the military are opposed to reform and are even more adamantly opposed to demilitarization. The military has grown rich through a decade of massive U.S. support. The army, although it has been transformed into the strongest single economic force in the country, is fighting for its very existence.

According to Secretary of State James Baker official U.S. policy now favors a political solution to the war in El Salvador. But U.S. actions do not reflect this "new thinking." Massive U.S. aid continues to flow to the Salvadoran military, the backbone of the dictatorship, giving El Salvador's hard-line right wing carte blanche to carry out human rights violations and avoid serious negotiations. There is a growing awareness of this fact among the U.S. public and in Congress. The United States could facilitate the negotiations by cutting off aid.

There is increasing pressure from El Salvador's political parties and grass-roots organizations for a political solution based on demilitarization and democratization. Continued intransigence on the part of the extreme right could force the F.M.L.N. to step up its political and military struggle.

The key decision is now in the hands of the people and government of the United States. Will they use this new epoch in international relations to support a political solution to the war and begin promoting democracy? Or will they opt to continue to support an authoritarian government in pursuit of a losing battle against the will of the majority of the people?

The cause of democracy in El Salvador is of hemispheric importance. Our country is the testing ground for a new post-cold war U.S. policy toward the emerging democratic forces of Latin America. Over the years the best people in the United States have stepped forward to support us, identifying with the justice of our demands and the courage of our people's struggle for democracy. Today, with U.S. policy at a turning point, this support is needed more than ever. □

THE SOUTER FACTOR

The Majority at the Supreme Court

HERMAN SCHWARTZ

Will the Supreme Court pendulum swing to the left again? Probably, but not for a long time, given the relative youth of today's conservative justices. For perhaps the next quarter century, the Court is almost certain to revert to the "I'm all right Jack" conservatism that has characterized most of its history, especially if the 51-year-old David Souter joins it.

The 1989-90 term was a good indicator of both the past and the future. It was probably the liberals' last hurrah, for though they lost some, they also won some.

The most serious blow was to religious freedom. Eating peyote is a crucial part of the Native American Church ritual. The drug, so bitter that it induces nausea, is not used for recreational purposes and is not often abused or sold for profit. Oregon bans it, but unlike twenty-three other states, makes no exception for religious use, though it does not really enforce the ban. Nevertheless, when two church members were fired from their jobs for using peyote sacramentally, Oregon denied them unemployment benefits.

In *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith*, the Court upheld the denial. Writing for five members of a 6-to-3 majority (Justice Sandra Day O'Connor joined only in the result), Justice Antonin Scalia threw out thirty years of law under which the

Herman Schwartz, a professor of law at American University and a contributing editor of The Nation, *is currently working on constitutional problems in Eastern Europe.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Court had required states to allow religious exemptions from governmental requirements unless the states could show a compelling need for the requirement that could not be met by less restrictive means. For Scalia, if the interference with religion is not intended but is "merely the incidental effect of a generally applicable and otherwise valid provision, the First Amendment has not been offended." Thus, as he indicated, the sacramental use of wine could be prohibited by a general ban. That kind of encroachment on religious freedom is an "unavoidable consequence of democratic government," he blandly concluded, even though we have a First Amendment precisely in order to avoid such consequences.

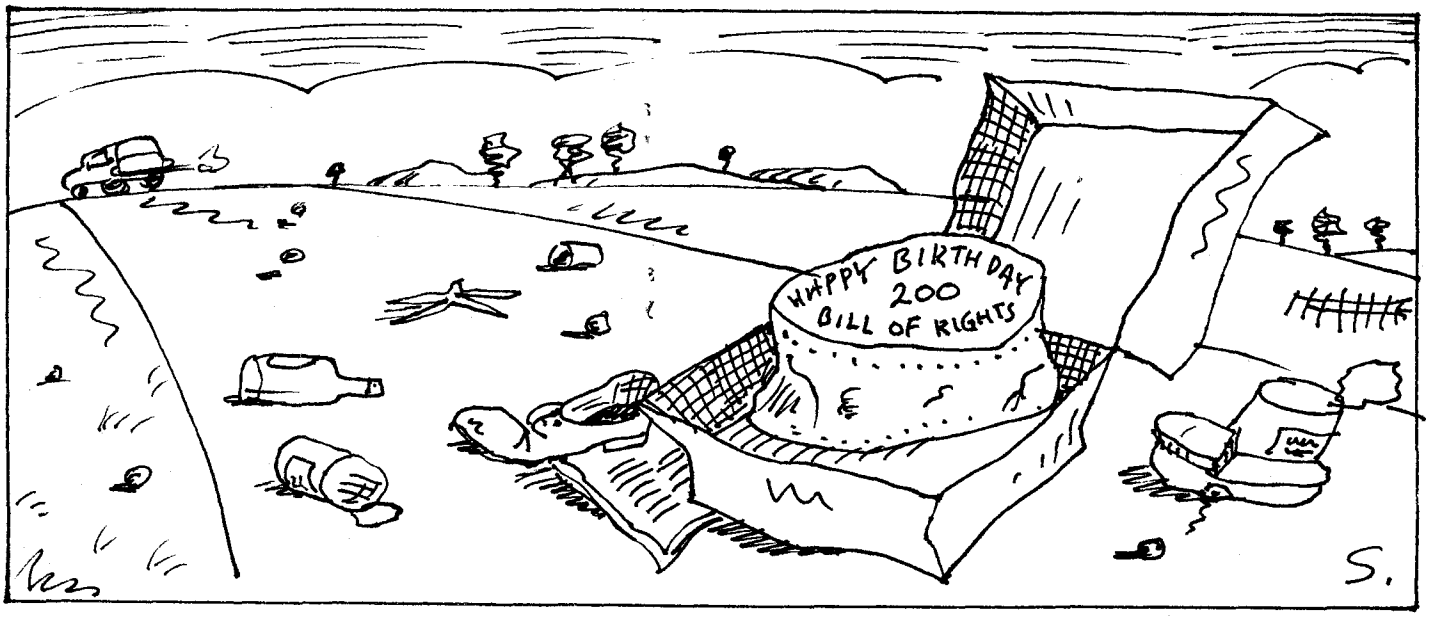
Apart from *Employment Division v. Smith*, the liberals did not fare too badly. In *Hodgson v. Minnesota* they won a partial victory on abortion when a 5-to-4 majority, including Justice O'Connor, struck down one section of a Minnesota law which required anyone under 18 who wants an abortion to notify both parents at least forty-eight hours in advance of the procedure, even if the parents are separated or the family is dysfunctional. O'Connor then switched and joined the conservatives in upholding another section of the statute, which also required notice to both parents but in addition gave the teenager the option of obtaining a judge's permission for the procedure instead of notifying the parents. "Interference with the family's internal operation . . . does not exist where the minor can avoid notifying one or both parents" by going to court, she explained.

O'Connor's reliance on the judicial bypass option is misplaced. Not only is the court proceeding expensive and unnecessary—only 9 out of 3,573 applications were denied by Minnesota judges, and the record is similar elsewhere—but many young people are terrified of courts, and suffer "fear, tension, anxiety and shame," leading at least some to have the unwanted baby or to get an illegal abortion. And going to court does result in "interference with the family's internal operation." Minnesota's two-parent bypass is ludicrous—why shouldn't the consent of one parent, who is almost invariably the custodial parent, be enough? In *Hodgson*, the trial court found that the girl's relationship with the parent she did notify was damaged and that the process "affirmatively discouraged parent-child communication."

This same lack of realism infected the Court's first foray into the agonizing right-to-die controversy. In a typically splintered set of opinions on *Cruzan v. Director, Missouri Department of Health*, all the justices voted to allow someone to forgo life-prolonging medical care, though Scalia would have preferred to impose no constitutional limitations on a state's restriction of this choice. The five conservatives also ruled, however, that Missouri could require that a patient's decision not to use life-sustaining equipment be proved by "clear and convincing evidence"—a very high degree of proof—in order to "safeguard the personal element of an individual's choice." As a result, the parents (and court-appointed guardian) of Nancy Cruzan, a young woman who is in an irreversible vegetative state as a result of an automobile accident, were not permitted to approve the ending of her life. Although there was evidence she would have wanted them to do so under those circumstances, it wasn't enough to meet the "clear and convincing" requirement. (The Cruzan family recently announced it had found more evidence of her wishes.)

Supreme Court justices may be isolated from much of life's grimness, but requiring proof of the wishes of a patient in an irreversible vegetative state seems especially unrealistic and insensitive. Currently there are some 10,000 people in such a condition, and the number will grow. How many had the foresight to make a living will, or to indicate what they would want in so terrible a situation? How many young people even think about that? What should be done in the case of children? Are the families of all these people to be denied the right to say goodbye, to start the grieving and recovery process? In a poll taken a few months before *Cruzan*, 88 percent of the respondents thought the decision to withdraw life support should be left to the family, but on the Court, only Justice John Paul Stevens seemed to agree.

In other cases, the liberals scored some significant victories. The decision that allowed flag burning was reaffirmed; the power of the judiciary to enforce school desegregation

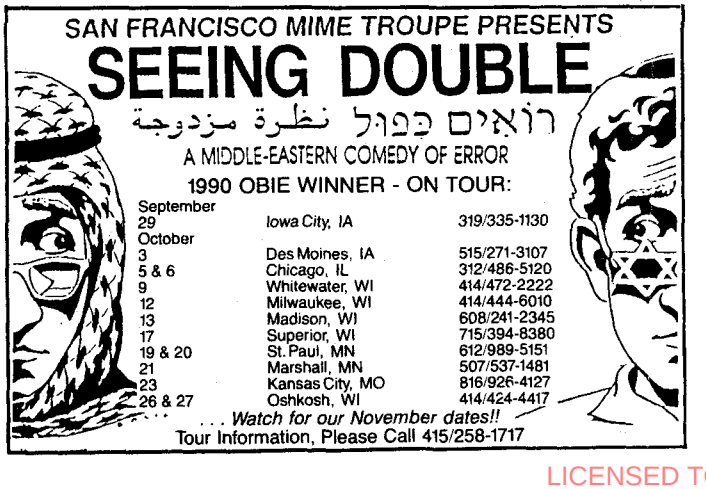


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was upheld, as was public employees' protection against retaliation for not supporting the party in power. And in one of the most startling upsets of recent years, *Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. F.C.C.*, the normally conservative Byron White joined the liberals in upholding a preference for minority ownership in certain radio and television license proceedings. Reagan's Federal Communications Commission had wanted to abandon the preference, but because of the minuscule number of minority-owned stations, Congress insisted it be kept. This is the first time in ten years that White has voted for an affirmative action program, and probably for the same reason he had before: The policy was mandated by Congress, not by state, local, judicial or private authority. White has always been a strong supporter of federal power.

Those victories are all very fragile, however, for most were by 5-to-4 margins. Whether these decisions survive will turn on the views of David Souter, who is almost certain to succeed Brennan. His record as a judge and Attorney General is one of consistent philosophical and judicial conservatism. Although at his confirmation hearing he portrayed himself as a moderate conservative, his actual testimony was filled with so many vague generalities and unanswered questions that he will be able to vote with either Scalia or Thurgood Marshall on many issues without contradicting what he said. Moreover, his explanations for some of his past actions are so implausible as to raise doubts about his entire testimony.

Liberal decisions other than last year's are also at risk. The flag case is one likely victim of the new conservative majority, as are others protecting offensive speech. The 5-to-4 decisions protecting public employees against political job discrimination are also endangered. Recent 5-to-4 church-state cases, such as the decision banning the erection of religious symbols on public property, are also likely to be overturned, as are many of the restrictions on public financing of parochial schools. Federal legislative and judicial powers are likely to be curtailed if they cut deeply into state or local prerogatives. Judicial protection for illegitimate children and other disadvantaged groups, such as the children of illegal aliens, is also likely to shrink. And since Souter's record shows a strong prosecution orientation, the rights of the accused may be further eroded.


SAN FRANCISCO MIME TROUPE PRESENTS
SEEING DOUBLE
רואים כפול نظرة مزدوجة
A MIDDLE-EASTERN COMEDY OF ERROR
1990 OBIE WINNER - ON TOUR:
September
29 Iowa City, IA 319/335-1130
October
3 Des Moines, IA 515/271-3107
5 & 6 Chicago, IL 312/486-5120
9 Whitewater, WI 414/472-2222
12 Milwaukee, WI 414/444-6010
13 Madison, WI 608/241-2345
17 Superior, WI 715/394-8380
19 & 20 St. Paul, MN 612/989-5151
21 Marshall, MN 507/537-1481
23 Kansas City, MO 816/926-4127
26 & 27 Oshkosh, WI 414/424-4417
... Watch for our November dates!!
Tour Information, Please Call 415/258-1717

Some of these changes will depend on the effectiveness of Scalia, who has emerged as one of the most reactionary justices on the Supreme Court in the past fifty years, rivaling even Chief Justice Rehnquist. In some respects, he is a more dangerous force on the Court than Rehnquist, for not only does he usually carry Justice Anthony Kennedy with him but he is something of a theoretician, unlike Rehnquist, who usually contented himself in the liberal era with a sarcastic snarl. Thus Scalia, who has apparently never met a legislator or legislative act he could respect, has urged judges to forgo the search for the legislature's intent when a statute that has some ambiguity is to be interpreted. If there is an executive-branch interpretation, that governs. If not, the statute should be read "in accord with context . . . ordinary usage . . . [and] the surrounding body of law"—all determined, of course, by a judge. This is obviously a prescription for judicial imperialism by Reagan-Bush appointees at the expense of Congress, the one branch they have failed to take over.

Although not all of Scalia's fellow conservatives have explicitly adopted his theory of legislative interpretation, they silently applied it in the 1989 anti-civil rights cases and in many other decisions since. Judicial restraint where constitutional rights are involved, and judicial activism against liberal legislation: That is now the conservative formula.

In a variant of the original-intent thesis, Scalia has argued that the due process clause covers only interests "traditionally protected by our society." And he has challenged long-standing precedents in issues involving church and state, commerce, obscenity, civil rights, free speech, privacy and other areas.

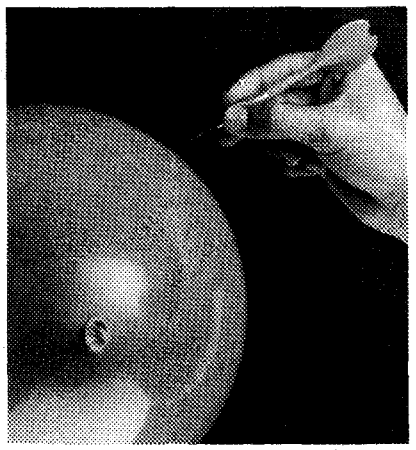
So far, few of the cases the Court has agreed to hear in the coming term involve those broad questions. But it is still too early to evaluate the year's crop, for even with its tendency in recent years to hear fewer cases than in the past, the Court is likely to take at least seventy to a hundred more.

One upcoming case that raises an issue of general interest involves abortion in a particularly complex setting. Public Health Service Act regulations require that recipients of federal funds under Title X, which provides family planning services for more than 5 million poor women, may not provide any information about the availability or appropriateness of abortion. Instead, those administering federal funds must offer information and referrals for prenatal care to protect the health of the "unborn child." Although the government can usually set the terms by which it will hand out money, this obvious form of censorship involves not only a preference for one point of view but also a potentially serious and perhaps dangerous distortion of medical advice, raising not only free speech but also due process problems.

School desegregation is before the Court for the first time in eleven years. In *Board of Education, Oklahoma City Public Schools v. Dowell*, the Court may determine whether a school board that has achieved a "unitary" system (whatever "unitary" means) may be released from a court order to desegregate the schools, and thus may adopt policies and practices that resegregate the schools even when those policies

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why the most skeptical people in America subscribe to The Nation.



Our editorial philosophy.

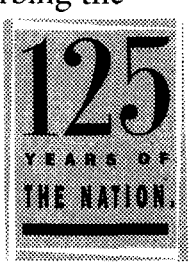
The Nation is older than General Motors and the USSR. We even predate sliced bread.

Yet, despite our advanced age, we have never settled for mere respectability.

Indeed, the longer we're around, the more we pride ourselves on disturbing the status quo.

A paradox?

Not to thousands of our readers still able to declare they are "radical," let alone liberal.



Our history.

They prize the challenge we present forty-seven times a year.

The challenge to their assumptions. Their sense of what the news portends. And the disinformation that too often masquerades as news.

Our taste in art.

We always do our very best to keep all our readers freshly provoked.

With regular contributions from such iconoclasts as Alexander Cockburn, Katha Pollitt, Christopher Hitchens, Molly Ivins, Gore Vidal, Calvin Trillin, and drawings from the likes of Edward Sorel (well, nobody else is like Mr. Sorel).

Why do the most skeptical people in America subscribe to The Nation?

Because they ask the toughest questions and demand the liveliest answers.

Prove it:

Subscribe for yourself.

Our offer (for new subscribers only): Save 64% off the single-copy price. . .and 18% off our basic rate. . .when you subscribe to 24 issues of The Nation — one-half year — for just $15.

[ ] My payment is enclosed. [ ] Bill me later.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Please mail to: PO Box 10791, Des Moines, IA 50340-0791.

The Nation.

Unconventional wisdom since 1865.

H0K3S

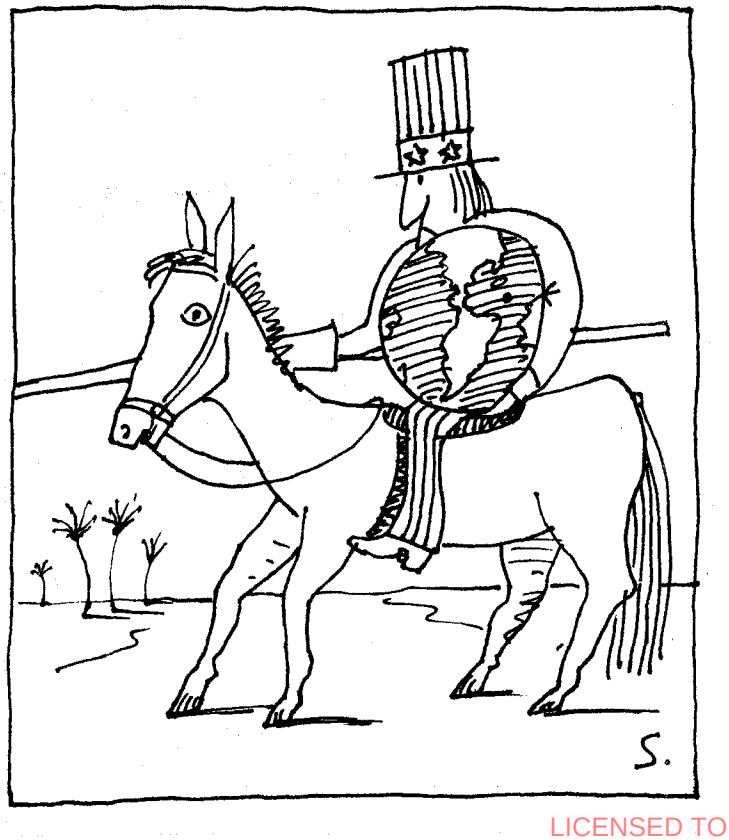
Produced by Public Media Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

World War II," nor that "the U.S. economy is critically dependent on the smooth flow of world trade." Our allies are even more dependent on trade with the Third World, and thus, in the absence of any other suitable choice, the United States must assume responsibility for the protection of vital trade routes and raw-material suppliers. "The U.S. may not be the 'world's policeman,'" McCain noted, "but its power projection forces will remain the free world's insurance policy."

Debate over the relative merits of the geo-economic and geostrategic positions was the order of the day in elite Washington circles between January and July, with partisans of both camps circulating articles, reports, position papers and other missives to promote their respective models. And however genteel this struggle may appear, its outcome entails extraordinary consequences for all concerned. At issue are such questions as (1) who will control America's foreign policy establishment in the years ahead; (2) which of the giant federal bureaucracies will prosper and which will fall into decline; (3) which of our states and communities will be the beneficiaries of government spending and which will be deprived; and, likewise, (4) which giant corporations will receive lucrative government contracts and which will not.

At issue in this contest, in other words, is the relative power, wealth and prestige of America's top movers and shakers. To give just a small indication of the stakes involved, consider this suggestion by Sorensen: "The National Security Council, originally intended to integrate military and nonmilitary analysis, will need to expand its capacity for the latter, relying on fewer generals and Kremlinologists and more economists." However attractive this proposal may appear to professional economists, it is not likely to win



support from the generals and Kremlinologists who have controlled the national security state since 1945; the latter are doing everything in their power to insure the failure of such endeavors.

In the short term, the most important issue in the debate over America's future international role is the size and configuration of the defense budget. At stake here is not only the total volume of dollars that will flow to the Defense Department in the years ahead but also their proportional distribution among the four military services—and, within the services, among the units devoted to nuclear, conventional and low-intensity conflict. Advocates of the geo-economic approach believe all of the services should be cut back, with the heaviest cuts coming from the nuclear weapons sector and from the ground and air forces committed to NATO. Advocates of the geostrategic position are willing, out of economic necessity, to accept modest cuts in nuclear and NATO-oriented forces, but insist on the preservation (if not expansion) of America's "power projection" forces—that is, those air, ground and sea forces designed for rapid deployment to distant trouble spots in the Third World. Such forces, Senator William Cohen wrote in April, "will grow significantly" more important in the 1990s than they were during the cold war period.

In the past year the prospect of significant reductions in Pentagon spending has prompted the individual military services to fight with one another over the smaller pile of dollars coming their way, and to denigrate the capabilities of their fellow services in order to strengthen their own case for continued funding. But beginning in March and April a remarkable consensus emerged among the service chiefs on the military's role in the post-cold war era. The substance of this consensus was that America must gear up for "mid-intensity conflicts" or combat against emerging Third World regional powers like Iraq.

The clearest expression of this outlook is found in a statement by Gen. Carl Vuono, the Chief of Staff of the Army. "Because the United States is a global power with vital interests that must be protected throughout an increasingly turbulent world," he wrote in April, "we must look beyond the European continent and consider other threats to our national security." This, in turn, compels us to consider the threat posed by emerging Third World powers:

> Regional rivalries supported by powerful armies have resulted in brutal and devastating conflicts in the Third World. . . . The proliferation of advanced military capabilities has given an increasing number of countries in the developing world the ability to wage sustained, mechanized land warfare. The United States cannot ignore the expanding military power of these countries, and the Army must retain the capability to defeat potential threats wherever they occur. *This could mean confronting a well-equipped army in the Third World.* [Emphasis added.]

To prepare for such encounters, Vuono argues, the Army must be reconfigured from a static, NATO-oriented force into a mobile "contingency force" capable of defeating powerful Third World armies.

Not to be outdone by the Army, the other military services

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Reprint Mart.

The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today

Elinor Langer's well-researched and chilling look at the growth of skinhead, neo-Nazi and white supremacist hate groups with direct ideological links to the original Nazi movement. Langer concludes that something deeply disturbing is indeed happening here—something every American should comprehend and confront. *(July 16/23, 1990)*

How on Earth?—Strategies For a Habitable Planet

The Nation's special Earth Day 1990 issue features bold articles by Barry Commoner and Kirkpatrick Sale outlining down-to-earth technological and political strategies for preserving the planet. Commoner argues that government regulation has failed to persuade American corporations to clean up their act, and Sale argues that Earth Day 1990 commemorated the problem, not the solution. "To succeed," according to the issue's lead editorial, "environmental politics needs a movement." The solutions offered here are radical, but so is the problem. *(April 30, 1990)*

'Fetal Rights'—A New Assault on Feminism

Katha Pollitt focuses on the anti-choice forces' new strategy: persecuting women who carry or give birth to drug dependent or alcoholic children. Pollitt tells how mothers are being portrayed "as the major threat to unborn babies." Already in wide demand for college textbooks and academic courses in many disciplines. *(March 26, 1990)*

Scapegoating the Black Family

Guest-edited and written by African-American women, this important *Nation* issue debunks the myths and exposes the reality of the black family. Margaret B. Wilkerson, Jewell Handy Gresham, Faye Wattleton and others. With a final appeal/challenge to America by speaker, activist and author Ossie Davis. This issue has received widespread attention in academic circles and was nominated for a National Magazine Award. *(July 24/31, 1989)*

The Lords of the Global Village

Mergers and takeovers are transforming the information business, creating companies worth billions of dollars and concentrating power and ownership in the hands of a few. Ben H. Bagdikian, author of *The Media Monopoly*, examines the growth of these giant communication combines, and profiles such media barons as Rupert Murdoch and Robert Maxwell. This special issue is essential to all students of the media, in or out of the classroom. *(June 12, 1989)*

Defending the Rain Forest and Its People

Alexander Cockburn and Susanna Hecht's powerful account of the destruction of the Amazon rain forests and the efforts to save them. Also, an inspirational interview with one of the most visible and vocal—and threatened—leaders of the Rubber Tappers Union, Osmarino Amancio Rodríguez. *(May 22, 1989)*

The Armenian Journal of Michael Arlen

Travel through earthquake-torn Armenia with Michael Arlen, author of *Passage to Ararat*. Meet the people of Yerevan, Leninakan, Spitak. See and hear their suffering and hope as they struggle to regain their history and forge their future. Compassionate and rich in detail. *(April 24, 1989)*

Learning to Deal With Cuba

A landmark study of Fidel Castro's revolution at 30 and why United States–Cuban relations should be normalized by a new Administration. Highlighted by George Black's vivid on-the-spot report on Cuba's prospects for change in the age of Gorbachev. Also, Wayne S. Smith, John Spicer Nichols, Maria de los Angeles Torres, William M. LeoGrande and Coco Fusco. *(October 24, 1988)*

Will We End the Cold War?: The Next President's Historic Opportunity

Stephen F. Cohen's Olive Branch Award–winning essay calling for a new American thinking about the Soviet Union, and proposing a ten-step plan toward new relations. *(October 10, 1988)*

A Citizen Reads the Constitution

E. L. Doctorow's commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, excerpted from a speech he delivered at Philadelphia's Independence Hall. Doctorow celebrates the Constitution's fluid character and the foresight of its creators, and argues that "something unprecedented and noble was created in Philadelphia"—a document that endures despite the "deconstructionist" ambitions of the Reagan Administration. A thorough and invaluable evaluation of the Constitution's history. *(February 21. 1987)*

Students on the Move

An invigorating look at today's college activism. Contributors include students involved in the nationwide struggle for racial and sexual equality, and divestment, and the growth of a new counterculture. With an essay by Alexander Cockburn. *(March 26, 1988)*

Facing South Africa

In this realistic assessment of the struggle for liberation, Andrew Kopkind explores the brutal banalities of the South African system. Using interviews gathered during a journey through the region, he presents readers with a wide-angle view of a society in ferment and leaves no doubt as to the situation's volcanic potential. This issue's importance is reinforced by the recent changes in South Africa, including Nelson Mandela's release, the unbanning of the African National Congress and Namibia's independence. *(November 22, 1986)*

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It

This issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. David Pearson's study argues that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry. *(August 18/25, 1984)*

K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions

This issue updates the ground-breaking K.A.L. story from the year before. David Pearson, John Keppel and David Corn analyze new Japanese radar data, examine a Nation Institute-sponsored review, by aviation experts, of the final airliner transmission and describe the government's efforts to obstruct investigation. *(August 17/24, 1985)*

Central America

Appearing just after the controversial Kissinger report in January 1984, the special issue on Central America offered a strong refutation of the Administration's views. The arguments still hold. Highlighted by Walter LaFeber's overview, William LeoGrande's analysis of the domestic political fallout and Peter Davis's compelling firsthand report on the Nicaraguan revolution, the issue is important and informative. *(January 28, 1984)*

Remembering Carey McWilliams

Two reprints for the price of one. **100 years of *The Nation*.** Former editor Carey McWilliams summarizes and evaluates *The Nation*'s history at the 100-year point. Reprinted from *Journalism Quarterly*, this concise essay is available again. **On the Nixon Within Us.** Jules Feiffer's eloquent essay honoring McWilliams' gadfly journalism in an age of Nixonian valuelessness. These two *Nation* reprints are available as one package.

Back Issues of The Nation

These and other back issues of *The Nation* 1981 to the present (when available), are $3 each.

THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name/Date	Total
1-9: $3.00 ea.			
10-49: $2.00 ea.			
50-99: $1.50 ea.			
100-249: $1.25 ea.			
250 or more: $1.00 ea.			

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax _____

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Mail check or money order to Nation Reprints, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. **Prepayment is required. All reprint sales are final.**

Foreign orders (including Canada): Add $1 per issue. Payment must be made with an international money order (no service charge) or from a U.S. dollar account (add service charge: Canada, $5; all others, $15).

NR9037

LICENSED TO UM2.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have issued statements regarding the threat of mid-intensity conflict in the Third World. In developing this common outlook, all the military chiefs have agreed on one fundamental point: The United States and its closest industrial allies are becoming increasingly dependent on markets and raw materials located in volatile areas of the Third World, and so military action is essential to protect these vital interests. As Commandant of the Marine Corps Gen. A.M. Gray wrote in May, "If we are to have stability in these regions, maintain access to their resources, protect our citizens abroad, defend our vital installations, and deter conflict, we must maintain within our active force structure a credible military power projection capability with the flexibility to respond to conflict across the spectrum of violence throughout the globe."

Bush is attempting to mobilize public support for a permanent U.S. commitment to the role of global gendarme.

In this revealing passage, General Gray spells out the guiding vision of the geostrategic model: As the sole Western power still capable of using force to protect economic "assets" abroad, the United States retains an indispensable international mission as the industrial world's enforcer. "Our position as a world leader," Gray explained, is a direct result of "our willingness to maintain credible force levels to protect our interests and those of our friends."

This outlook is shared by General Powell and, through Powell's influence, by the President himself. Thus, in his August 2 speech in Aspen, Colorado, Bush said, "Notwithstanding the alteration in the Soviet threat, the world remains a dangerous place with serious threats to important U.S. interests wholly unrelated to the earlier patterns of the U.S.-Soviet relationship." Because these threats include aggressive action by well-equipped regional powers, the United States must retain military forces with a high degree of strength and readiness.

As noted, the partisans of the geostrategic model had developed and articulated their positions prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2 [see Klare, "The U.S. Military Faces South," June 18]. However, as soon as the scale of the invasion became obvious, President Bush saw a golden opportunity to discredit the geo-economic model and to insure the triumph of the geostrategic approach. Thus, in seeking to evict Iraqi forces from Kuwait, Bush is also attempting to mobilize public support for a permanent U.S. commitment to the role of global gendarme. "Recent events have surely proven that there is no substitute for American leadership," Bush crowed in his nationally televised September 11 speech. "Let no one doubt our American credibility and reliability. Let no one doubt our staying power."

For those familiar with the postwar era, this seizure of a purely temporal, local crisis to implement a previously devised, long-term strategy will seem uncannily like the sequence of events occasioned by the outbreak of the Korean War. The strategic planners of the Truman Administration never viewed Korea as a critical cold war battlefield, but they used the anxieties aroused by that conflict to secure Congressional approval of a massive U.S. commitment to the defense of NATO—the real goal of Truman's advisers (as evidenced in N.S.C.-68, the secret strategy document prepared by Paul Nitze in early 1950), and one that had previously been opposed by an economy-minded Republican-controlled Congress.

As was the case with the Korean War, advocates of the new U.S. global posture conceal their imperial objectives under the mantle of international peace and order. Here, for instance, is Nitze providing, in 1990 as in 1950, the intellectual scaffolding for a policy of global military engagement: "The United States, with first-class military potential, inherent political, economic, and cultural strengths and no territorial or ideological ambitions, can play a unique role in bringing its latent power to the support of order and diversity" among groups and nations.

Similar comments have been made by President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker. The Persian Gulf crisis "offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation," Bush affirmed in his September 11 speech. "Out of these troubled times," he noted, "a new world order can emerge: a new era, freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace."

But rather than pursue noble objectives like peace, tolerance and cooperation for their own sake, American policy-makers see them as rationales for a continuing U.S. role as the world's reigning superpower. To achieve this objective—which will insure the continued prominence of the national security establishment at the expense of economic renewal—leaders are prepared to risk the lives of U.S. soldiers in recurring "contingency operations" abroad. How else, after all, do we demonstrate America's "credibility and reliability," to use Bush's words? The answer, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney explained in March, "is that we're willing to put U.S. troops on the ground. The message, to friends and enemies alike, is that *Americans are willing to risk their lives to insure the security of our friends and allies.*" [Emphasis added.]

Is this the sort of future we want? To be perennially risking the lives of our young people so that generals and spymasters can retain their positions of power in Washington and so that our economic rivals will be guaranteed a steady supply of cheap oil? Americans who are concerned about the restoration of our economic health and the preservation of our democratic values cannot consent to such a prospect. We must reject the global military role advocated by President Bush and adopt a new foreign policy based on U.S. partnership with, not leadership over, other international actors. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Black Magic

JOHN LEONARD

HOCUS POCUS. *By Kurt Vonnegut. G.P. Putnam's Sons. 302 pp. $21.95.*

Hocus Pocus seems to me to be Vonnegut's best novel in years—funny and prophetic, yes, and fabulous too, as cunning as Aesop and as gloomy as Grimm; but also rich and referential; a meditation on American history and American literature; an elegy; a keening. "How is this for a definition of high art," we are asked by the antihero, Eugene Debs Hartke: " 'Making the most of the raw materials of futility?' "

But *Hocus Pocus* has been not so much reviewed as consumer-tested, like a bar of chocolate, as if all Vonneguts were Hershey's, needing only to be categorized as Semi-Sweet, Special Dark or Bitter Almond. Without even bothering to cut a new stencil, critics perceive him as an amusing atavism of the 1960s. Or a celebrity-guru who has reached the bottom of his cracker barrel. Or a Pet Rock. Or an old fart. It makes you wonder why a writer ever tries to do something different. It also makes you wonder what it is a reader really wants from a writer who's been around so nobly, so long.

We take our leave of a Vonnegut novel, even *Hocus Pocus*, feeling . . . what? Certainly not comforted, nor galvanized, nor whammied. More . . . reflective, as if emerging from the vectors of a haiku. I spent one Christmas with him, years ago, in New Hampshire. We happened, in an orchard, upon stricken boughs of black apples. Helicopters had sprayed Stop-Drop on these apples during the October picking season, and then an early frost had killed them off, and so they hung there, very Japanese. Vonnegut said, "If you don't write about those apples, I will." He never did. Maybe they were too conveniently symbolic. (Stop-Drop, after all, is a kind of Ice-9.) But that's not how a novel of his feels, either.

Another time, I think in Maine, Vonnegut got down and dirty with Ray Mungo, who explained that his communards were leaving for the wilds of Canada because they "wanted to be the last people living on the earth." Vonnegut wondered, "Isn't that a sort of stuck-up thing to want to be?" And, of course, stuck-up writers are a dime a dozen: the wart hog postmodernist, the history-devouring sage, Umberto Eco. We never feel, after reading Vonnegut, that he thinks he's any better than we are. (We probably should, but we don't.) We feel that a sad man, inside his funny jokes, despairs of our ever getting his plain-spoken point, and we're grateful that he goes on anyway, trying all over again to make us braver and wiser, but the mind clouds as the lips grin, and we go about our chastened business with a blank uneasiness. He's such a *fatalist*.

Vonnegut dreamed his way into heads where the weather rained confusion and history came down hard and hurt.

Let me try again: At the end of the American Playhouse public-television production of Terrence McNally's short play *Andre's Mother*, the mother (Sada Thompson) and the lover (Richard Thomas) go to Central Park to mourn Andre's death from AIDS. Unable to speak their grief, they send up little white balloons. It is a kind of naming. That's what a Vonnegut feels like, only his balloons are black, like those apples.

We began taking him for granted after his megabucks Dresden novel, *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Part of it was his own fault. His next time out, in *Breakfast of Champions*, he detached himself from his creations, cut the strings as if they were marionettes or kites. He was 50 years old: "Under similar spiritual conditions, Count Tolstoi freed his serfs. Thomas Jefferson freed his slaves. I am going to set at liberty all the literary characters who have served me so loyally during my writing career." Readers hate this, which is why Conan Doyle had to bring back Sherlock Holmes, and why Nicolas Freeling is resented for having lost interest in Van der Valk, for having invented Castang instead. Besides, with *Breakfast*, weird personal stuff started creeping into Vonnegut's fiction—like his dead father. He dropped the "junior."

But by that time, we felt we'd gotten the message, and it wasn't "Greetings!" *The Sirens of Titan* asked us how to cause "less rather than more pain," how to "love whoever is around to be loved." *Mother Night* warned that "we are what we pretend to be, so we must be careful about what we pretend to be." Bokonon told us in *Cat's Cradle* to "pay no attention to Caesar. Caesar doesn't have the slightest idea what's *really* going on." *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* wanted to know how to love "people who have no use." Billy Pilgrim in *Slaughterhouse-Five* overheard Eliot Rosewater telling his psychiatrist, "I think you guys are going to have to come up with a lot of wonderful *new* lies, or people just aren't going to want to go on living."

Art, of course, is a wonderful lie. After catastrophes and revolutions, Hiroshima and "the Nazi monkey business," God was telling us through Vonnegut that we'd have to invent the meaning of "all this" for ourselves, dream it up. This is why his characters left town so often, left Mother Earth herself, for outer space, Tralfamadore. On Tralfamadore, novels have "no beginning, no middle, no end, no moral, no causes, no effects"; they're just clumps of symbols. Vonnegut seems to need Tralfamadorians the way García Márquez needs angels and Toni Morrison needs ghosts and Shakespeare needed clowns. Just maybe, by the transcendent power of the imagination, we could reverse the charges, call back the bombers over Dresden:

> American planes, full of holes and wounded men and corpses, took off backwards from an airfield in England. Over France, a few German fighter planes flew at them backwards, sucked bullets and shell fragments from some of the planes and crewmen. . . . The formation flew backwards over a German city that was in flames. The bombers opened their bomb bay doors, exerted a miraculous magnetism which shrunk the fires, gathered them into cylindrical steel containers, and lifted the containers into the bellies of the planes. . . . When the bombers got back to their base, the steel cylinders were taken from the racks and shipped back to the United States of America, where factories were operating night and day, dismantling the cylinders, sep-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arating the dangerous contents into minerals. Touchingly, it was mainly women who did this work. The minerals were then shipped to specialists in remote areas. It was their business to put them into the ground, to hide them cleverly, so they would never hurt anybody ever again.

Then again, maybe not. *Breakfast of Champions* was gloomier. Imagination was not enough. In *Breakfast*, for instance, the sci-fi novelist Kilgore Trout imagined "a dialogue between two pieces of yeast. They were discussing the possible purposes of life as they ate sugar and suffocated in their own excrement. Because of their limited intelligence, they never came close to realizing that they were making champagne."

Bummer! So much for the chronosynclastic infundibulum. But Vonnegut went on dreaming after *Breakfast*, with or without his critics. ("Yes," he said in *Slapstick*, "and while my big brother meditated about clouds, the mind *I* was given daydreamed the story in this book. It is about desolated cities and spiritual cannibalism and incest and loneliness and lovelessness and death.") It's just that he dreamed his way into different sorts of heads, heads attached to symbolic citizens—writers, soldiers, artists, politicians—whose moral autonomy wasn't what it ought to be. The weather inside these heads rained confusion; history came down hard and hurt; we were killing the planet. The transforming powers of the romantic self needed some group help, some civic assistance, a home front.

Slapstick is a fairy tale, set in the future instead of the past. There are monsters who mean well, a witch, a Tom Thumb (he's Chinese), a noble steed named Budweiser ("golden feathers hid her hooves"), a perilous journey with a gift (a Dresden candlestick stolen from the tent of a sleeping chieftain), an Island of Death (where "people lit their homes at night with burning rags stuck in bowls of animal fat") and a ceremony (the 100th birthday party for the last American President, who is writing his memoirs, which is the book we are reading). There are three ideas many another postmodernist would kill for: a gravity that's as variable as the weather, a Church of Jesus Christ the Kidnapped, and a blueprint for abolishing loneliness in the following way: A computer will establish 10,000 brand-new "extended families," giving "proportional representation to all sorts of Americans, according to their numbers," by randomly assigning everybody in the country a new middle name which consists of "a noun, the name of a flower or a fruit or a fish or a mollusk, or a gem or a mineral or a chemical element—connected by a hyphen to a number between one and twenty." Thus each individual instantly acquires 190,000 cousins (same middle name) and 10,000 brothers and sisters (same middle name and number). Daffodils, Orioles, Berylliums, Chipmunks, Bauxites, Strawberries and Pachysandras form clubs and even "parliaments" to take care of one another.

One more misbegotten "granfalloon," like the Communist Party.

And yet: *Slapstick* also proposes that, even if we aren't "really very good at life," we must nevertheless, like Laurel and Hardy, "bargain in good faith" with our destinies. And there are instruction manuals for this bargaining: *Robert's Rules of Order*, the principles of Alcoholics Anonymous, and the Bill of Rights.

None of these books was written by a Tralfamadorian.

Jailbird's about Harvard and Nixon; Sacco and Vanzetti; Hiss and Chambers; trade unionism, corporate greed, the Holocaust and Watergate—not to mention Roy Cohn. There are catacombs under Grand Central, and harps on top of the Chrysler Building, and even Nixon's "unhappy little smile" looks to Starbuck "like a rosebud that had just been smashed by a hammer." Some fairy tale! "Strong stuff," says Starbuck, whose girlfriend tells him: "You couldn't help it that you were born without a heart. At least you tried to believe what the people with hearts believed—so you were a good man just the same." And she reads Starbuck's books the way we ought to read Vonnegut's: "the way a young cannibal might eat the hearts of brave, old enemies. Their magic would become hers."

To the three how-to manuals mentioned in *Slapstick*, *Jailbird* adds a couple more: Lincoln's "with malice toward none" Second Inaugural—Vonnegut may look like Mark Twain, but he feels as bad as Honest Abe; "Strange mingling of mirth and tears, of the tragic and grotesque, of cap and crown, of Socrates and Rabelais, of Aesop and Marcus Aurelius," said Robert Ingersoll of Lincoln—and, most radical of all, Jesus Christ's Sermon on the Mount. Kilgore Trout, one of the few Vonnegut characters besides Wanda June to survive the defenestration of *Breakfast*, is in jail for treason because he has preached the Sermon on the Mount.

Galapagos is about evolution, *Deadeye Dick* about the neutron bomb and *Bluebeard* about the Abstract Expressionism of Evil. Strong stuff!

Like Starbuck in *Jailbird*, Rabo Karabekian in *Bluebeard* tries "to believe what the people with hearts believed," so perhaps he's a good man "just the same"—a child of survivors of the Turkish massacre of the Armenians, which gives us one more genocide to grieve; a veteran, like all Vonnegut's antiheroes, of World War II, which he spent commanding a platoon of artists "so good at camouflage, that half the things we hid from the enemy have to this very day never been seen again"; a postwar intimate of Pollock and Rothko; a man once divorced, once widowed, twice a failed father. Although Rabo paints, he isn't very good at the modern art that renders "absolutely nothing but itself." Much of his own work's been destroyed "thanks to unforeseen chemical reactions between the sizing of my canvases and the acrylic wallpaint and colored tapes I had applied to them." He rusticates in misanthropic Hamptons exile with an empty pool and a locked potato barn, inside which we'll meet his last will and testament, his secret witness.

There are the usual dark chords. We are reminded of the industrial know-how a genocide needs "to kill that many big, resourceful animals cheaply and quickly, make sure that nobody gets away, and dispose of mountains of meat and bones afterwards." (On the college lecture circuit, Vonnegut speaks of "humanity itself [as] an unstoppable glacier made of hot meat, which ate up everything in sight and then made love, and then doubled in size again.") But there are also the usual grace notes—those lovely moments

Come to the Fair! ...*World's Fair*, the quarterly journal of international exhibitions, fairs and festivals—their people, pageantry and politics. Lots of good reading; part fun, part social history, with a guide to events on six continents. Write or phone for a free sample issue.

PO Box 339, Dept. B-10b
Corte Madera, CA 94925
(415) 924-6035

World's Fair
Published since 1981

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that seem to fall in Vonnegut's pages like autumn leaves. According to Rabo, for example, God Almighty Himself "must have been hilarious when human beings so mingled iron and water and fire as to make a railroad train."

But what we've picked up, of importance, along the way in these late novels are more books of recipes—Shakespeare, *Don Quixote*, Goethe's *Faust*, Picasso's *Guernica*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Alice in Wonderland*. This is the library of how-to (and etiquette) instruction manuals—cookbooks and sacred civilizing texts; a nest of brains where we sit down to read the latest novel by the last innocent white man in America, a theoretician of Chaos before James Gleick explained it, a Green before they got together in political parties in places like Germany; a Johnny Appleseed of decencies; a Space-Age Buddha; Vonnegut at 68.

We should know he's up to something special in *Hocus Pocus* just from the name of his antihero, Eugene Debs Hartke. Eugene V. Debs, of course, was the American labor leader who said, "While there is a lower class I am in it. While there is a criminal element I am of it. While there is a soul in prison I am not free." Debs tried to keep us out of World War I but lost out to the more practical-minded Samuel Gompers. He will lose out again with Hartke, who wanted as a boy to go to the University of Michigan but who ends up instead, after cheating in a high school science fair, at West Point. From West Point he goes to Vietnam. ("If I were a fighter plane instead of a human being," he says, "there would be little pictures of people painted all over me.") From Vietnam, he goes to teach the dyslexic children of the Anglo-Saxon filthy rich at Tarkington College in upstate New York, where there's a Samoza Hall and a Pahlavi Pavilion. From Tarkington, he goes to teach black and Hispanic illiterates at the New York State Maximum Security Adult Correctional Institution at Athena, "a brutal fortress of iron and masonry on a naked hilltop," directly across the valley from the college.

For different reasons, in the year 2001 learning-disabled children of the filthy rich and illiterate black and Hispanic dope dealers can't read the Writing on the Wall. Even if they could, according to Hartke, "Just because some of us can read and write and do a little math, that doesn't mean we deserve to conquer the Universe."

"A fascinating tour de force"*

ARCHITECTS OF FORTUNE

MIES VAN DER ROHE AND THE THIRD REICH

BY ELAINE S. HOCHMAN

This probing examination of Mies van der Rohe's activities under Hitler blends biography, cultural history, and investigative reporting into a richly informative account of not only an enigmatic architect's life and work, but of a society in thrall to a dictator.

Illustrated with photographs
$11.95 paperback
At all bookstores

"Meticulously researched and suspenseful... Hochman chillingly recreates this chaotic and desperate time.... A fascinating tour de force on this period of Mies' life, providing fresh insights into his architecture." —*Library Journal*

"With grace and probity... raises deep questions on the role of architects as servants of the state." —*N.Y. Times*

FROMM INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING CORPORATION
Distributed by National Book Network, Lanham, Maryland

VIETNAM AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

An Analysis of International Law and the Use of Force, and the Precedent of Vietnam for Subsequent Interventions

The Consultative Council of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam

Richard Falk, Chair
John H. E. Fried, Rapporteur

With a New Preface by Richard Falk

"Essential reading for the lawyer and lay citizen who seek lawful U.S. foreign policies and the rule of world law."
—*Burns H. Weston, The Univ. of Iowa*

"Its perceptive analysis and message gain new significance in light of the events of the 1980s and the prospects of the emerging world order. The reissue of this important document is very welcome."
—*Noam Chomsky, M.I.T.*

"The legal and moral limitations on the use of force are not vague, utopian precepts, but signposts to wise and sound policy decisions. The reissue of *Vietnam and International Law*, the most thoughtful analysis of these legal issues, is therefore especially timely and welcome."
—*Abram Chayes, Harvard University*

"The current demand for multilateral participation and United Nations authority as conditions for American military action in the Middle East is in part a tribute to the impact of this book. It deserves a permanent place in the literature of international relations."
—*Alfred P. Rubin, Tufts University*

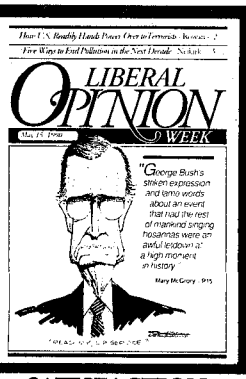
Send $12.50 plus $2.50 postage (50¢ each additional book) to

Aletheia Press
P.O. Box 1178–79
Northampton, MA 01061

Visa / MC orders: 1-800-927-9748

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIBERAL OPINION WEEK



SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

A New Liberal Voice

LIBERAL OPINION WEEK reprints current syndicated, editorial commentary by over 36 influential columnists and America's most talented cartoonists – all with liberal viewpoints.

Enjoy A Pantheon of Pundits

Follow every column, as a rule, by Mary McGrory, David Broder, Tom Wicker, Colman McCarthy, Richard Cohen, Michael Kinsley, Jesse Jackson.

And humorists Art Buchwald, Russell Baker, Mark Russell, Dave Barry, Andy Rooney, Mike Royko, Roger Simon.

Plus Bob Greene, Coretta Scott King, Murray Kempton, Neal Peirce, Ralph Nader, Les Payne, Sandy Grady, Carl Rowan, Nat Hentoff, Ellen Goodman, Jimmy Breslin.

As well as most columns by James Hoagland, Germond and Witcover, William Raspberry, Lars-Erik Nelson, Anthony Lewis, Hobart Rowen, Chris Matthews, William Schneider, William Pfaff, Linda Ellerbee.

Discover A Thousand Points of Bite

Every week, delight in the barbs by Feiffer, Oliphant, Conrad, Toles, Herblock, Szep, Peters, Wasserman, Marlette, Mauldin, Borgman, Sack, Summers, Powell, Luckovich, Payne, Rogers and many other cartoonists.

Just $36 for one year, 52 issues

Tabloid size • Reference guide
No paid ads • By subscription only
MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

Call Toll-Free: 800 338-9335
(Business Hours Central Time)

Published by LIVING HISTORY, INC.
Educational reprints since 1960.

LIBERAL OPINION WEEK
P.O. BOX 468- , VINTON, IA 52349
❒ YES, send 1 year (52 issues) for $36
❒ Payment Enclosed ❒ Bill Me
Name _____
Address _____

We are reading the story that Hartke has written down on stray scraps of brown wrapping paper and the backs of envelopes while awaiting trial, like Howard Campbell Jr. in *Mother Night*, like Kilgore Trout in *Jailbird*, for treason. There's been a failed revolution. The blacks and Hispanics escaped from Athena, crossed the frozen lake in the valley, ate the horses and the campus dogs and killed some white people in the "emerald-studded Oz or City of God or Camelot" of Tarkington. Before they all got murdered in their turn, they declared a sort of Paris Commune. Since it's assumed by the triumphant military government that blacks and Hispanics couldn't possibly have plotted this revolt on their own, Hartke must have done it for them. Besides waiting for his trial, he is also adding up the number of women he's gone to bed with and the number of men he's killed, and he's afraid he'll come to the exact same body count.

I'm not going to tell you about Hartke's crazy wife and mother-in-law, who make spiderwebs of toilet paper all over the house. Or just how our prisons came to be "color-coded." Or what we're supposed to think of GRIOT, the computer program of the sociobiologists. Or why Hartke thinks "the two principal currencies of the planet are the Yen and fellatio." And never mind what goes on at the Black Cat Café. But there are some things you need to know.

In the year 2001 the Japanese run our prisons and hospitals, though they were smart enough to pass on our inner-city schools. Koreans own *The New York Times*. Italians own the St. Louis Cardinals. Among the trustees of Tarkington College are a thinly disguised William F. Buckley Jr. and a thinly disguised Malcolm Forbes (who shows up with Elizabeth Taylor on a motorcycle). These trustees are told, though they refuse to believe it, that they've treated America as a "plantation," and now that "the soil is exhausted, and the natives are getting sicker and hungrier every day, begging for food and medicine and shelter," and the water mains are broken and the bridges are falling down, "You are taking all your money and getting out of here."

They are told this in the valley where once upon a time were built the covered wagons that went west—maybe even the prairie schooners for the fast-food Donner Party. There are also in this valley Indian ghosts, severed heads, a floating castle and twenty-seven perpetual-motion machines "with garnets and amethysts for bearings, with arms and legs of exotic woods, with tumbling balls of ivory, with chutes and counterweights of silver." As if to balance this "magic of precious metals"—as everything in *Hocus Pocus* is exquisitely balanced, from the dyslexics and the illiterates to the number of women loved and men murdered—there is a carillon of thirty-two bells made "from mingled Union and Confederate rifle barrels and cannonballs gathered up after the Battle of Gettysburg." At Gettysburg, in fact, the man who started Tarkington College was shot by Confederate soldiers because he looked so much like Abraham Lincoln.

Mention is also made of Lee, Custer and Westmoreland.

A critic doesn't have to work very hard to figure out that, for Kurt Vonnegut, the Civil War between whites and blacks is far from over and the Civil War between rich and poor has only begun: That's what he's writing his novel about. Nor need you be a semiotician to notice that he does his dreaming about the Civil War inside the fevered head of American literature.

It's not just that the prisoners skating over the frozen lake are right out of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Nor that we meet James Fenimore Cooper, Theodore Dreiser and a mortician with the name of "Norman Updike." Like Mailer and Arthur Miller, Hartke can't stop brooding about Marilyn Monroe. Edgar Allan Poe is quoted. We're actually introduced to Moby Dick (at least to his penis). I'm sure there are New England Transcendentalists hiding like angels in these hardwood trees. "Tarkington" probably refers as well to Booth—like Vonnegut, an Indiana novelist, although he went to Fitzgerald's Princeton instead of Vonnegut's (and Pynchon's) Cornell. Remember the *Penrod* stories and *The Plutocrat*? Like Cheever's *Falconer*, *Hocus Pocus* is a Sing Sing/Attica novel. Hartke's scraps of paper remind me of those "odds and ends of thoughts" that Dr. Reefy, in *Winesburg, Ohio,* scribbled down on bits of paper and then stuffed away in his pockets to become "little hard round balls." I wouldn't even be surprised if one reason Vonnegut left all the dirty words out of *Hocus Pocus* was that he felt as playful as Mark Twain felt when he left all the weather out of *The American Claimant*.

If I seem to be working too hard, it's because nobody else did—except Vonnegut. Like Walt Whitman (and Allen Ginsberg), when Vonnegut goes to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Civil War, he's a male nurse. *Leaves of Grass* is another of his sacred texts. American literature itself, the lens through which he looks at history, bloody history, is a comfort and a subversion. According to Hawthorne: " 'Faith!' shouted Goodman Brown, in a voice of agony and desperation; and the echoes of the forest mocked him, crying, 'Faith! Faith!' as if bewildered wretches were seeking her all through the wilderness." And Melville, on reading Hawthorne, stopped to shake his head: "For, in certain moods, no man can weigh this world without throwing in something, somehow like Original Sin, to strike the uneven balance . . . this black conceit pervades him through and through."

Black conceits, black apples, black balloons. Strong stuff! □

The Turn of the Screw

MICHAEL FERBER

LATE MARXISM: Adorno, or, The Persistence of the Dialectic. *By Fredric Jameson. Verso. 260 pp. $50. Paper $16.95.*

Fredric Jameson's *Late Marxism* is the most philosophically sophisticated and searching study of Theodor Adorno to appear in English. Until recently, Adorno was best known in America for his part in the collaborative study *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) and for a few essays on the arts, of which two in particular are famous, or infamous: a dismissive essay on jazz that appeared in English in 1946 and a searching philosophical response to Samuel Beckett's *Endgame*, published the same year as the play (1958) and available in English a few years later.

He was also known as the "musical adviser" to Thomas Mann while Mann was at work on his great novel *Doctor Faustus* and both were living in exile in Los Angeles. Mann's well-publicized exchange of letters with Arnold Schoenberg, who accused Mann of stealing his theory of the twelve-tone row, brought Adorno into the picture as Mann's "informer," Adorno having learned the theory while studying with Alban Berg in Vienna. Mann's own account of the writing of the novel is full of praise for Adorno. After reading his *Philosophy of Modern Music* in typescript, Mann knew "this was my man," the one he needed for both technical and philosophical advice on the music of the novel's hero, the composer Adrian Leverkühn: "An American singer who works with [Adorno] said to me: 'It is incredible. He knows every note in the world.' " Early in the novel Leverkühn's teacher Kretschmar plays through Beethoven's Opus 111 piano sonata while analyzing it aloud, just as Adorno had done for Mann. Near the end of the sonata, Mann writes: "With the motif passed through many vicissitudes, which takes leave and so doing becomes entirely leave-taking, a parting wave and call, with this D G G occurs a slight change, it experiences a small melodic expansion. After an introductory C, it puts a C sharp before the D, so that it no longer scans 'heav-en's blue,' 'mead-owland,' but 'O-thou heaven's blue,' 'Green-est meadowland,' 'Fare-thee well for aye,' and this added C sharp is the most moving, consolatory, pathetically reconciling thing in the world." It is one of the finest musical descriptions in literature, and it contains a little salute to Adorno, for "meadowland" is *Wiesengrund*, Adorno's middle name.

With Herbert Marcuse's popularity in the 1960s came a new interest in Adorno, not only because Marcuse often cited his former Frankfurt School colleague but because he taught a generation of young American scholars the relevance of Hegelian Marxism, of dialectical thought, of "negation" as the preserve of utopian possibility and of such key concepts as the "reification" not just of commodities but of reason itself into "one-dimensional" instrumental calculation. Translations of Adorno began appearing more frequently, with the journal *Telos* leading the way. Most of the major works are now in English, though the distinction between major and minor, for this lapidary stylist and master of the aphorism, may not hold. In his new study of Adorno, Jameson concentrates on the two large volumes, *Negative Dialectics* and *Aesthetic Theory*, though he draws heavily on *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (which Adorno wrote jointly with Max Horkheimer) and—the most attractive and accessible book—*Minima Moralia*. However incomplete the translations (and despite serious mistakes in some of them), Adorno is a presence, again, in England and America two decades after his death.

Some consider Adorno the greatest German philosopher of the century, with the possible exception of Wittgenstein. His other serious rival for this honor, Heidegger, was the object of fierce attacks by Adorno over many years. Heidegger's "jargon of authenticity" (the title of another of Adorno's books), his search for clues to the primordial and immediate ground of being in Greek philosophy, German etymologies, Hölderlin's poetry or peasants' tools masked their social and historical character and brought reason to a halt. For Adorno the limits of reason, even reason's repressive character—insofar as it corrals unique particulars under universal concepts—cannot be cured by abandoning reason, by positing something prior or deeper and then standing in awe before it. Only by working through reason, by playing concept off against concept and setting each concept against its ideological distortion in capitalist and totalitarian societies, only by what Jameson nicely calls "stereoscopic thinking," can one keep faith with what does, in the end, elude reason: nature, the unique object, the experiences of the body, suffering, the good life. In this, perhaps, Adorno is more truly philosophical than Heidegger.

As a man of the left who saw the revolutionary hopes of his generation collapse under Stalinism, as a German Jew who survived the pulverization of fascism (and for whom all was changed "after Auschwitz"), as an uncomfortable guest in the capitalist United States with its Hollywood and other forms of mass manipulation, Adorno (unlike Marcuse in the sixties) saw little hope on the horizon for a genuinely liberatory socialism, found no "revolutionary subject" capable of carrying out the almost unimaginable changes needed to prize us free of the pervasive powers of the total system of reification combined with state terror. He is known for his strategy of "hibernation," a preservation of the life of the mind, at least, in wintry times. But he also remained loyal to the ideal of a redeemed life, which he forbade himself to describe more than glancingly, though it is implicit everywhere in his work as a standard to measure the damage of contemporary life; it sounds in his work not unlike the consolatory "meadowland" motif that takes its farewell before the coming frost.

At about the same rate that Ador-

Michael Ferber teaches English at the University of New Hampshire and writes about William Blake.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no's reputation has been growing in the English-speaking world, in a kind of echo of his wartime exile, it has been shrinking in West Germany, to which Adorno returned in 1949 to help re-establish the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt. This shift, Jameson suggests, is due not just to the usual delays of translations and assimilations but, in a dialectical irony of the kind that Adorno was himself a genius at describing, to the recent triumph of Anglo-American analytic philosophy in Germany and its simultaneous exhaustion in England and America.

'The question about poetry after Auschwitz has been replaced with that of whether you could bear to read Adorno . . . next to the pool.'

French poststructuralism, of course, has been a factor on both sides. Its refusal of systematic or "totalizing" thought, including dialectics, has helped to promote German interest in analytic methods, while its interrogation of logic as a form of social power and the self as a construction of language has attracted Anglo-American interest as part of a general turn toward Continental philosophy (or "theory," as poststructuralists prefer to call it). Jameson, no mean dialectician himself, points out that Adorno's own meditations on the falsehood of the totality, the limitations of any concepts, the origin of reason in the preservation of the self and reason's inevitable recolonization of the self it made possible anticipate most of what is useful in poststructuralist thought while avoiding most of its paradoxes and self-refutings. Preserving critical or "negative" concepts of totality, subject and even truth, Adorno also remains in the end a Marxist, Jameson argues, and his "late Marxism" may be just what we need in today's world of triumphant "late capitalism."

(I don't think Jameson means to suggest a second meaning of "late" in his title, but the massive changes that rolled through Eastern Europe right after he finished the book may expose it to sneers. He explains that it is a translation of *Spätmarxismus*, a term in common use in German, but *spät*, I believe, cannot mean "deceased.")

Jameson has very little to say about music, the subject of about half of Adorno's writings, and without giving a reason he proposes a ban on musical analogies for other aspects of Adorno's thought (happily, he lifts this ban occasionally to offer some striking parallels). Nor does he dwell long on any of Adorno's discussions of particular works or artists. Instead he goes right for the central and most abstract concepts Adorno deploys, including "concept" itself, identity, the "identity of identity and nonidentity," totality, mimesis, reification and the "dialectic of enlightenment." It is heavy going much of the time, less an introduction (though someone seeking help would eventually find it) than an intervention in an ongoing dialogue among Adorno's interpreters. Those who remember Jameson's luminous and exhilarating chapter on Adorno in *Marxism and Form* (1971) may be disappointed with this much drier, argumentative and self-conscious study. Jameson is known as one of the finest stylists among Marxist scholars, but here, except for moments, the American master of the "dialectical sentence" gives us few aerobatic displays. He stays close to the ground, weighed down by parenthetical asides and a kind of tentative toe dipping (to change the metaphor) before Adorno's cold forbidding sea. There are too many clauses like "as will be shown below," "it seems worthwhile at this point" and "what must now be affirmed"—one on nearly every page in the first part of the book. Yet it is hard to blame him. What Jameson calls "the dialectical maelstrom of oppositions" in Adorno's thought; Adorno's way of holding in one sentence, sentence after sentence, the spirit of an entire essay; and his notion that thought must somehow replicate in its shape what it cannot grasp in its concepts raise very acutely before any interpreter the problem of how to represent that thought. To explicate key concepts systematically is to betray a body of thought whose characteristic theme is thought's systematic betrayal of its objects. Jameson's habits may be less the tics of daunted self-consciousness than a deliberate highlighting of the problem, faced just as much by Adorno himself, of writing dialectically.

When he gives himself full throttle Jameson can be quite wonderful to read:

> In fact, what Adorno called positivism is very precisely what we now call postmodernism, only at a more primitive stage. The shift in terminology is to be sure momentous: a stuffy petty-bourgeois republican nineteenth-century philosophy of science emerging from the cocoon of its time capsule as the iridescent sheen of consumerist daily life in the Indian summer of the superstate and multinational capitalism. From truth to state-of-the-art merchandise, from bourgeois respectability and "distinction" to the superhighways and the beaches, from the old-fashioned authoritarian families and bearded professors to permissiveness and loss of respect for authority (which, however, still governs). The question about poetry after Auschwitz has been replaced with that of whether you could bear to read Adorno and Horkheimer next to the pool.

Though such passages are too rare, the book as a whole is a powerful and persuasive study. Jameson has a gift for bringing to bear an unusual parallel and for collocating scattered passages that illuminate one another. He also has Adorno's gift for giving the dialectical screw one more turn, for rotating the object of discussion so that what appears to be a problem from one angle, say a dissonance in Wagner, becomes from another a mirror or index of a solution in a very different (social or economic) sphere. His major argument, that Adorno was always a Marxist, then, is not only corrective but dialectical; not only a quarrel with other interpreters who take him as a post-Marxist or "Young Hegelian" or even a postmodernist and poststructuralist but a claim about what is most living and pertinent in his work. The "tyranny of the concept," the repression of objects by abstract thought, is not just accidentally similar to the permeation of exchange value and the suppression of use value. And while pursuing the most recondite detail of artistic technique or the most negligible gesture of everyday social life Adorno may detect the hollow echoes of reification under capitalism and the still air of the totally administered society.

Jameson concludes by arguing that the 1990s may be Adorno's decade. With capitalism now nearly universal and opposition movements in all three worlds quiescent, his "bile" at existing society may be the "counter-poison" we need as we hibernate without sacrificing our intellects. I don't know. I agree about the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

efficacy of the medicine. I take a good dose of Adorno from time to time to awaken my mind to possibilities it keeps forgetting, to "de-reify" it so it can think more stringently, subtly, honestly; and I recommend him to anyone with such needs. But I'm not so sure the 1990s will be wintry. Since Jameson finished his book Eastern Europe has transformed itself. That means, to be sure, its immediate colonization by capitalist institutions, but it also means the end of the cold war and the collapse of at least one set of ideological mechanisms that contained social movements on both sides of the divide. Pressures to disarm, although they have been temporarily stalled by the Persian Gulf crisis, are growing. And nature itself may be on our side, as we approach the physical limits of global growth. Capitalism may plan itself into socialism in order to survive, though it may take a few more horrors to prod it forward. (Jameson points out that the Frankfurt School, alone among Marxisms, is one of the philosophical ancestors of the ecology movement.) Perhaps my stupid American optimism can't fully absorb Adorno's (and Jameson's) Central European gloom. But Gramsci's slogan "pessimism of the intellect; optimism of the will" would not be a bad compromise as we try to take the measure of this great thinker. □

THEATER.

HAL GELB

Born in the RSA
Rats
Berkeley Rep

Nelson Mandela might have spared himself the grueling miles and fatiguing arena dates of his U.S. tour had he known what theater critics for the San Francisco Bay Area dailies know. In their reviews of Johannesburg's Market Theatre's production of its 1985 script *Born in the RSA* at the Berkeley Repertory Theatre, they took it for granted that apartheid is dead. To varying degrees, the locals denounced the script, the joint creation of director/dramatist Barney Simon and his original South African cast, as dated and without purpose, and—at the very same time in some instances—as agitprop. But on its own terms, the absolutely timely, lovingly crafted play creates a moving portrait of how past horrors, and particularly the state of emergency, have left their stamp on blacks and whites alike and shaped the question mark that is now the country's future.

Like *Asinamali!* and Barney Simon, Percy Mtwa and Mbongemi Ngema's *Woza Albert!*, two township plays the Market Theatre helped develop and present to an international audience, *Born in the RSA* relies only minimally on the technical means of theater. An E-shaped platform, some bars, a couple of props, lights and film-and-slide projections are all that support the actors. The play depends almost wholly for its drama on their bodies and especially their voices. The consistently strong ensemble work by the South African and American cast is far less body-centered, with almost none of the athletic physical performance and exuberant movement that we're used to in the township plays.

The characters tell their stories to the audience. Glen (Arnold Vosloo), a white university student with no strong goals or ideology who gets along with blacks, gradually drifts into informing for the government and ultimately betrays both Susan (Sandy Dirkx), a white art teacher he's sleeping with, and her fellow activist, Thenjiwe (Jacqueline Williams), a black trade union organizer. We then watch the effects of this: on Glen himself; on his marriage to Nicky (Catherine Price), an apolitical young woman; and in Susan and Thenjiwe's consequent imprisonment and torture.

A second plot centers around Thenjiwe's 10-year-old nephew, Dumisani, who is wrongly imprisoned for taking part in an uprising of children and is forced to sign a false confession. His mother, Sindiswa (Ora Jones), is accompanied in her search for him by Zach (Seth Sibanda), Thenjiwe's sweet-natured, generally apolitical boarder, who by the end longs to smash the heads of white children with a baseball bat. The play also shows the guards and torturers, the instruments of state repression, but it takes pains to point out that, like the rock-throwing, bus-burning blacks, the police and military are often children themselves and too young to understand fully what they are doing.

For their part, the activists don't conform to a left-wing myth either. In the face of transparent lies, they manifest a buoyant resistance, but their heroism is

Hal Gelb is a freelance writer and director living in the Bay Area.

HOW TO JEOPARDIZE A PERFECTLY GOOD FRIENDSHIP.

Give someone you care about a gift subscription to *The Nation*.

In all likelihood, the recipient will get just as enraged, worked up and aggravated about the issues the magazine covers as our regular subscribers do.

That's because *The Nation* covers those issues with a critical spirit and an independent perspective that set us apart from other publications. Which isn't surprising, since it's written by such original thinkers as Alexander Cockburn, Kirkpatrick Sale and Frances FitzGerald.

And politics isn't all we cover. Our subscribers also enjoy our writing on the arts, which is of such extraordinary clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should give *The Nation* as a gift after all.

Just be sure your relationship can stand it.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

YES! I THINK MY RELATIONSHIP CAN TAKE IT. Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first gift and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO (Please print)
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP
GIFT FROM (Your name)
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $_____for_____subscription(s).
☐ Bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues. Air Mail rates available upon request. Subscriptions payable in U.S. funds.

THE NATION
P.O. BOX 10791, DES MOINES, IA 50340-0791 G0K3S

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

naïve and terribly fragile. They are unprepared for what comes down on them and surprised by their ability to withstand the state. And when they are reunited after their long imprisonment, their solidarity—that traditional agitprop answer to individual vulnerability—has a tenuous feeling to it.

The Market Theatre, which presented interracial casts to interracial audiences long before it was legal, clearly seeks an end to apartheid, but what they've created here is not at heart a denunciation of its horrors or a paean to resistance. Like traditional African storytelling, *Born in the RSA* bears witness to a time—and the changes time brings about.

Ultimately, the witness borne isn't etched in broad enough strokes for an audience that knows only the hopeful headlines. It would be easy to miss seeing what Dumisani's plot has to do with Glen's story in the overall design—that as the play progresses the black child and the nonideological whites move to the extremes of a society that is quickly exhausting the possibility of compromise. And, although clearly made, it is easy to misunderstand the point that, like the many young black freedom fighters who were victims of the war on children (and are not necessarily loyal to Mandela), Dumisani is South Africa's future, and that his brutalizing experience may lead to untold horrors.

To emphasize the play's relevance, Simon changed the ending from the one seen in 1986-87 in Boston, Washington, D.C., and briefly at the Woza Afrika! Festival at Lincoln Center. Instead of Thenjiwe dancing on and on in front of footage of repression and protests that seem as though they will also go on forever, the play now ends with her dancing before a projection of Mandela. The new image seems to say that the strength people like Thenjiwe found while being persecuted has brought about Mandela's release. But given what precedes it onstage, the projection is less, I think, an icon, the image of a liberating hero that suggests an end to history, and more a large question mark.

CONFRONTING
RACIAL
DIFFERENCE

Edited by
James Alan McPherson
and DeWitt Henry

A special issue of the literary magazine *Ploughshares*. Short stories, memoirs and essays addressing racial differences in the United States. $7.95 singly. $15 as first of three-issue subscription.

Ploughshares • Emerson College •
100 Beacon St. • Boston, MA 02116

Mandela also appears, in unusual guise to say the least, as the Cheshire Cat in the San Francisco Mime Troupe's dark new *Alice in Wonderland* update with music, *Rats*. Along with him, a raft of other public figures and types from the 1980s and early 1990 pop up with dreamlike spontaneity and body forth—always with an eye to topical correspondences—the major episodes of the classic. The Duchess (Arthur Holden) is a child-abusing Jesse Helms who purports to protect his charges from artists and pro-choicers; the Mad Hatter's unfettered tea party finds its equivalent in the anything-goes atmosphere of deregulation and junk-bond sales, with Neil Bush taking the role of the March Hare. The Dodo Bird in Andrea Snow, Joan Holden, Robert Alexander and Ellen Callas's script has proliferated into a quartet of endangered species who are working out their feelings in a Kubler-Ross support group; the garden is a clear-cut redwood forest; the rabbit who leads Alice down the rabbit hole has turned into a neo-Nazi skinhead rat (Stephanie Gilman) who steals her savings; and Alice herself (played with great economy by Edris Cooper) is a former guerrilla artist who once spray-painted "Mandela" on the I.B.M. building but is now confounded by the horrors of contemporary American life. The analogies vary greatly in inspiration, in the finesse with which they're carried out, and hence in the incisiveness of the satire.

As always with the Mime Troupe, there's a welcome shock of recognition that the play is about what's on your mind when you're not in the theater. *Rats* captures the mean-spirited, free wheeeeling dealing America of the Reagan-Bush era and embodies an as-yet-largely-unvented rage that the country's leadership stuck it to the populace and handed it the bill to boot. The Mime Troupe isn't alone in taking on issues such as these, but its wide-ranging vision and its attempt to reveal the connections behind apparently unrelated issues and events are rare.

But in *Rats*—which demonstrates a connection between S&L deregulation, junk-bond sales and the rape of forests, and views the current hunger for capital punishment, "morality" in art and flag-waving as a means of throwing critics on the defensive—a lot just feels flat-footed. That may be because there's something arbitrary about focusing on the timber industry when others were more prominent in the junk-bond scandals; because the explanation just isn't clear enough; or because, as Alice implies, so much is already so obvious. Or because, like too much in *Rats*—the acting, directing and costuming included—there's a slapdash quality and a lack of the Mime Troupe's usual ingeniousness in the presentation.

The troupe threw the show together in a couple of months, following a financially disastrous New York run and a disheartening Israeli tour of *Seeing Double*, its reconciliatory take on the Palestinian conflict (which plays in the East and Midwest this fall). That may also partly explain the pessimism of *Rats*. A perfunctorily optimistic coda looks for inspiration to Mandela's determination in the face of dark times, but nothing much else onstage supports such optimism. However, it's the Mime Troupe's practice to continue reworking material even as it is performed, so *Rats* may become a lot stronger if it goes on the road next year, as is hoped.

Ironically, perhaps, Berkeley Rep, which has presented four Market Theatre productions in the past seven years and has a liberal-to-progressive reputation, is being accused of racism and cultural imperialism. It's a longstanding criticism by black playwrights that American theaters produce the works of Athol Fugard and other apartheid drama with greater regularity and quite often in lieu of plays about homebred racism or simply plays by African-Americans. Under the five-and-a-half-year leadership of Sharon Ott, the Rep has thus far mounted full-scale productions of one play by a Latino and one by an Asian-American, but none by a black American. Ott says she's tried to do more black plays but couldn't get the rights.

Now Berkeley Rep wants to move its main operation and repertory to Oakland, an extremely diverse city that is more than half black. The attraction is a site for a larger theater at a $1-a-year rent in a private redevelopment project, as well as the possibility of Oakland corporate and Arts Council grants that are not available to Berkeley groups. Playwright Ed Bullins, who runs a storefront theater in adjacent Emeryville, argues that the Rep is being brought to Oakland to aid in gentrification, and that ethnic arts organizations, all considerably smaller than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Rep, fear they will receive less city funding, which is dispersed according to size of budget. So far, Ott hasn't responded to the first charge, but at a meeting called by novelist Ishmael Reed to air the matter she said she wants to move because Oakland would force the theater to "radicalize" its management and board (something the nearly all-white theater has done little about during Ott's tenure in Berkeley). Ott has also said the Rep will take Oakland arts funds only if they are "new and additional." Apparently the presumption is that the city will come up with new money if Berkeley Rep comes to Oakland, although local arts groups complain that the city currently tells them there aren't additional dollars to be found. □

ART.

ARTHUR C. DANTO

Gins and Arakawa: Building Sensoriums

Madeline Gins has been described to me as a genuinely advanced poet, by a genuinely advanced poet, of whom there are not all that many. Her advancedness is defined by the boundaries of writing and thought, which it is her mission to extend, even to transcend. So one would not expect sonnets, sestinas, odes or limericks from her, save in the spirit of verbal mischief; nor would one read her for evocations of childhood lost and innocence vanished, love thwarted or fulfilled, hopeless passion or settled melancholy, daffodils at eventide, white swans in black waters, or laments and ornamental suspirations of the ordinary metrical sort. She is metaphysical, cosmopolitical, medico-practical, epistemographic, sci-fi, phi-psy, cognito-cerebral, semiological, postutopian, aristico-heroical, visionary and wickedly funny. Her topics are spacetimematter, the limits of language, the transcendence of mortality and the salvation of the world through art and what one might call spiritual engineering. She reads like Einstein as adapted for Wittgenstein by Gertrude Stein.

Gins is the wife of Arakawa, a genuinely advanced artist, of whom much the same characterization would be true, allowing for the differences between writing and painting; and the two have been collaborators in everything the other has done, so that the mind of Arakawa cannot be thought of in abstraction from the mind of Gins, and reciprocally, Arakawa is present in everything Gins has done. Their chief explicit collaboration until now has been the remarkable book *The Mechanism of Meaning*, first published in 1971 as *Mechanismus der Bedeutung* in Munich, with an introduction by Lawrence Alloway, my predecessor as art critic of *The Nation*. Europe has been more receptive to genuinely advanced artists than the United States has, and so far as I know, no American museum has given Arakawa-Gins the sort of exhibition their work merits for its ambition, intelligence, cleverness and (to use an expression that has recently become controversial in the art world) its high quality. It is somewhat ironic that the book should have appeared in German, since most of the paintings in it are done in English—a kind of concrete poetry. So a readership unequipped with English would be hard pressed to respond as peremptorily demanded by the works: Each of the images is an exercise designed to awaken illumination in regard to the nature of language, written and spoken; to treacheries of meaning, the ambiguities of form, of color, of space, designation, direction, depth, reality, pictorial identity, truth, illusion, possibility and option, perception and decision, memory and imagination, deception and revision. The viewer is issued instructions and given what is required to comply with them—but is also given to see that in certain ways compliance is hopeless. Wittgenstein wrote that there could be a philosophical work consisting only of jokes. *The Mechanism of Meaning* (whose latest version was published by Abbeville Press in 1988) comes close to filling this prescription, and not surprisingly has become a cult text for logicians. It is a masterpiece of valuable disappointments and conceptual wrong turns, but it leaves the participant/reader (both "reading" and "looking" are too passive to characterize the proper relationship to the text) some distance further along the path to understanding the processes of reading and looking than when he or she set forth. A bit like aesthetic bodhisattvas, Gins and Arakawa are determined to nudge the rest of us onto higher and higher planes of awakened consciousness.

At the same time, they have attained to a view according to which the designations "poet" and "artist" are archaic, and belong to the language of an era it is their ambition to pass (and perhaps even their claim to have passed) beyond, into one in which we are to speak instead of "engineers of softness and of impressionable stretching." I take these formulations from "Reversible Destiny," a sort of user's manual issued a few years ago for a polydimensional construction toward which they have been working since perhaps 1973, a model or prototype of which is the central exhibit of their thought-and-work, at the Ronald Feldman Fine Arts Gallery (31 Mercer Street) until October 13. *Reversible Destiny* is the name of the bridgelike construction, in its present state forty-three feet long but meant to be built as a permanent structure exactly ten times that length. It is, like everything Arakawa does, exceedingly handsome, an object of sculptural elegance and, in this instance, of engineering exactitude. Black and metallic-looking, a sequence of sleekly geometrical forms—cubes, spheres, cylinders—linked by multiple planes of wire mesh, the work resembles a high-tech Cubist rendering of a scientific instrument of daunting precision: a psycho-cerebroscope, perhaps, or an isotopic thought accelerator.

The bridge's component parts may be analogous to the perceptual parts of the reclining body.

If "poet" and "artist" are archaic designations, "work of art" must be no less archaic. So, much as Wittgenstein characterized his writings as related to "what used to be known as philosophy," *Reversible Destiny* is an evolved descendant of what were once called works of art, and the experiencing of it is only distantly related to the sorts of aesthetic transactions held canonical to the experiencing of its forebears. Its beauty is a kind of trap, since its function lies elsewhere than the provision of pleasure to the eyes. Like *The Mechanism of Meaning*, as much and as little a "book" as *Reversible Destiny* is a "work of art," our relationship to this device is meant to be participatory and collaborative—and, as with its predecessor, its output is intended to be the transformed users. We should exit from *Reversible Destiny* as very different beings from those who entered it, with our destiny reversed. This would be a great deal to ask of works of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

art, even those intended to change one's life or which had that effect whatever their intention. But it is for just this reason that Arakawa and Gins have felt it urgent to go beyond the concept of the work of art and of aesthetic distance. You can get a pretty good idea of what *Reversible Destiny* is supposed to be, as well as the flavor of Gins-Arakawa writing, dense with stifled merriment and spoofy seriousness and ironic vision, from this prefatory passage to the text:

> Once it became indisputably clear that the ways of the world would never be revealed by means of verbal language alone, or, for that matter, by the use of any single sign system alone, a group of people set about constructing the first full-scale worked-out and enterable basis of inquiry, and by this act they did inaugurate what is known today as the Post-Utopian era.

That is what *Reversible Destiny* is minimally to be understood as: an enterable basis of inquiry. Inquiry into what? one may ask. Probably into inquiry. Which makes it a form of architectural logic, if we understand logic, as Dewey did, as inquiry into inquiry.

The nearest of artistic kin to *Reversible Destiny* would be, I surmise, the *Large Glass* of Marcel Duchamp or, even better and closer, his notorious *Etant donnés* ("Given That . . . "), the work to which he gave the last twenty years of his creative life and which is permanently installed in the Philadelphia Museum of Art—and which you know you are approaching when you begin to hear shocked giggles from startled spectators, whom the work reduces to voyeurs. One sees a heavy pair of closed doors, with irresistible peepholes. What one sees, revealed through a rough opening in a brick wall, is the spread and splayed torso of a woman, with a hairless vaginal cleft. Her head cannot be seen through these holes, and she may have none, though in her left arm she holds a flaming gas lamp, like the Statue of Liberty, and behind her is an illuminated waterfall. In a sense, the work exists only when seen, as if it provided a negative answer to the artistic version of the old conundrum of whether a tree makes a sound when there is no one to hear it fall in the forest. For the essence of *Etant donnés* is not to give the answers to the questions it inevitably raises for vision; it demonstrates, among countless things, the way art springs into being only through the collaborative intervention of the viewer. Gins and Arakawa declare or even proclaim the end of "the great but still frivolous . . . age of Marcel Duchamp, under which . . . the spectator or posterity ultimately acts as the true maker of the work of art." Now, "a still more collaborative, as-yet-unnamed era would begin, one in which the accepted state of affairs would be for true bodies of spectators to be actually originated through works of art." And that, ideally, will be what *Reversible Destiny* does: It is to be a means of creating a new order of spectator. Nietzsche has his persona, Zarathustra, say: "What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not an end." If this metaphor applies to *Reversible Destiny*, then it too is a bridge and not an end, hence not something to stare at but to cross over, an instrument for changing the state of its users.

The bridge is punctuated by a number of distinct chambers or parts, each of which is conceived from the perspective of some aspect of perception—of what I suppose might be called "The Mechanism of Sensing," which explains the overall title of the show: "Building Sensoriums 1973–1990." Sensoriums are what *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (Ninth Edition) cagily defines as "the parts of the brain or the mind concerned with the reception and interpretation of sensory stimuli." Well, which really is it—brain *or* mind? In that period in which engineers of softness and of impressionable stretching were still known as poets and artists, the text informs us that "philosophers had not yet shaken themselves free of the fog of dimensional confusion." Lexicographers can only do as well as their philosophical informants, and since *Webster's Ninth* was composed in the pre-postutopian times in which we live, the mind-brain fog is the philosophical soup in which we all paddle about; if I understand their intentions, Arakawa and Gins have designed the bridge as a sort of fog-dispeller. It is constructed as a kind of philosophical gymnasium, in which by working out we may discover our metaphysical identity. So the various segments or chambers of the bridge are like the various plates in *The Mechanism of Meaning*: strengtheners of the muscles of the mind. There are, I believe, twenty-four such segments, and there is a helpful footpath beside the bridge, in which those are marked out in diagrammatic fashion, so that in walking it you

CROSSING HARVARD YARD

Speck of life,
how deep you burrowed all fall.
Well into December
you nudged and fluttered,
you made known the outline
of a tiny fist or foot
while Professor Finley
lectured on the *Iliad*.

Achilles' choice, he said, is ours.
Which one shall it be—long inglorious life
or the brief but luminous hero's path?

Bundled up, I made my way home
a little off balance
weighted down with you and my briefcase
wondering what would become of me now.
Gravida, I said under my breath, *gravida*.
And a delicate push from within
gentle as a shower of petals
in a spring orchard
weakened me with awe.

Is there a different glory
in yielding to another's life,
I wanted to ask, and will I know
when I see you crown
in the doctor's high mirror
when I hear you break into the day
with your first cry for air?

Olga Karman Mendell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can know what part of the bridge is adjacent. Each section bears a name, like "Bodily Conjecture at Light" or "Point-Blank Entranceways into the (Provisional) Dissolution of Spacetime" or "Cradle of Reassembly" or (the terminal segment) "Forming Inextinguishability." And this brings me to the subtitle of the show: "For Determining How Not to Die." Gins explains to me that since we don't really understand body-mind, we don't really know that death is our destiny. The bridge, in bringing to awareness the nature of our nature, prepares us for inextinguishability. So, when the full-scale bridge is erected, I expect users will approach the last segment of it with a certain rapt trepidation. I asked how long it would take to reach it, and Gins proposed forty days. But, as the saying goes, We'll cross that bridge when we come to it.

I shall now endeavor to describe the two end points of the bridge. The entrance is filled with an immense sphere, equal in diameter to the width of the bridge. The floor is marked with black-and-white squares in the form of what psychologists of perception call a "visual cliff": perspective gives the sense that the floor is dropping abruptly away. The enterer must squeeze under the lower quadrant of the sphere, perhaps made to feel vertiginous by the visual cliff, and there encounters "Bodily Conjecture at Light," which is an enormous cylinder with a panel that looks as though it is impenetrable brick but is, Gins assures me, supposed to be penetrable. "Who entered here would by so doing find a new definition of his or her own body." I am as yet unclear (inevitably) on what this experience is like, or what the internal architecture is like. But, as part of the exhibit, Gins and Arakawa have been abetted by the architect John Knesel in the construction of a room they label "Stuttering God," which you can go through.

The experience is unsettling and exhilarating. You have to squeeze your way through and among plastic bags filled with some sort of compressible content, now and again catching a glimpse, through holes in the brick wall, of some serene internal space. The passageway is high and narrow, and though I emerged, so far as I could tell, with the same body (-mind) that I brought to SoHo with me, I got an intimation of a new sort of sensation, and hence an awakened sensorium.

The terminal component of the bridge has the shape of an octagonal tank, at least from the outside; sloping away from it, like the wall of a pyramid, is a structure bisected by a passage. One exits from the octagon and enters the passage, whose walls diminish as one advances until, free at last in all senses, one is on the other side. Metaphorically, one is walking between the legs of a geometrical sphinx, so perhaps the octagon is construed as a womb and exiting as a kind of rebirth. If this is true, then the sphere could be an abstract head, as the final space is the division between abstract legs, and the whole bridge is then a kind of relative of Duchamp's nude, with its component parts perhaps analogous to the perceptual parts—or sensorium—of the reclining body. So it could be a very powerful enactment to traverse the apparatus.

The art-historical pedigree of the bridge leads us, in one way or another, back to Duchamp, and I incline to the view that among its true ancestors are those artists of early modernism who saw in the idea of a fourth dimension an escape from our limitations. This was an idea that gave rise to more modernist art than you would suppose, had you not read the pioneering and courageous work of Linda Dalrymple Henderson, *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidian Geometry in Modern Art*. Many of the Cubists, the Constructivists, the early Abstractionists believed in the reality of the fourth dimension exactly as Captain Cook believed in a fabled Southern Continent or the Northwest Passage, and a great many works that hang in museums of modern art were efforts to make this invisible dimension accessible. Duchamp believed that three-dimensional objects are pro-

LONG ISLAND NIGHT

A last swimmer fished himself out,
a final splash carried over waterlogged air.
Left to its own devices,

your neighbor's pool burbled and glowed;
an insect not quite cricket
rubbed its legs together, revving up to send

the code all throbs and drones
that seeks a mate to shut it up. The tree whose name
I, your westerner, hadn't caught

held forth upon the question, multiple choice,
of a single bird that rattled off
a string of calls, not one its own. *Mocking*,

you called it; I knew that.
Erie the inland sea whose shore we'd hugged
most of a day on our way here,

you driven to ask *Where wouldn't we be happy?*
Into the swells of roses
the boat in the driveway leaned and groaned.

Rigging slapped the mast
until it sang out, warning of thorns.
Cold Spring Harbor

and Garden City slept, and you, my easterner,
on your far coast of bed. Deep
in the lightspill that surrounded your *Good night*,

stars I'd pieced together
on another shore hid how they hurtled in place.
What, between coasts,

was a little distance? What, between oceans,
were a few tears? Deeper
into dream your boat drifted, past fields

plowed into parking lots
where suburbs burned that neon they had,
up a ramp to the L.I.E.

Debora Greger

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jections of four-dimensional ones, as two-dimensional shadows are projections of three-dimensional objects. And the *Large Glass* is implicitly filled with fourth-dimensional allusions: "I thought of the idea of a projection, of an invisible fourth dimension, something you couldn't see with your eyes," he told an interviewer. (Incidentally, the present show will be followed by an exhibition of Arakawa's paintings titled "Paintings for Closed Eyes.")

Duchamp disclaimed any special mathematical expertise, and I expect those seekers after the fourth dimension knew, and needed to know, as much about the scientific truth as their peers needed to know about ethnography when they found inspiration in "primitive" fetishes and masks. It was enough that there was the idea of it, exciting and advanced, and full of redemptive utopian promise. The physics itself could be, as Duchamp said, "playful." Gins and Arakawa, for as long as I have known them, have defined their horizons differently from other artists, and certainly theirs were not the horizons of the art world itself. They have sought interchange with philosophers, psychologists, biologists, physicists and others, whom they have sought to enlist as collaborators. Once, I was told, a group of German physicists came to a gathering to tell Arakawa what he felt he needed to know, and nothing better exemplifies the spirit of his conception of collaboration than the question he put to them: "What, really, is the smallest thing?"

It cannot be said that Arakawa and Gins have been especially successful with art critics, who after all have been trained as either formalists or archivalists. The entire matrix of thought Linda Henderson has so usefully resurrected is, but for its presence in Gins and Arakawa, virtually absent from the art scene. Critics for the most part have been wary of Arakawa and Gins, suspicious of their language, uncertain of their motives, content if they can find something in the work that another artist might have done before, so that they can dismiss it. Like Duchamp's, the bridge of *Reversible Destiny* at the very least is an undertaking of ironic displacement of the common assumptions of the meaning and nature of art—so the *common* assumptions won't carry you very far in dealing with it. But it is work of immense intelligence, spirit, wit and ambition, and in an art world that today is largely scruff and shrieking, it might be time to put between ourselves and the common assumptions a certain skeptical distance. □

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ANNOUNCEMENT

ATTENTION LONGTIME *NATION* READERS. The magazine is interested in obtaining issues of *The Nation* from the period 1920-60. Please contact Peter Rothberg at (212) 242-8400.

APARTMENT AVAILABLE

CENTRAL LONDON RENTAL. Lovely 2-bedroom maisonette for academic year/12 months starting October. $1,600/month. (203) 624-0331.

APARTMENTS DESIRED

• APARTMENT WANTED •

***NATION* PRODUCTION MANAGER** seeks 1-bedroom or large studio apartment in Manhattan below 34th Street. Prime lease, under $800. Call Jane Sharples (212) 242-8400.

UNDERPAID, quiet and responsible interns seek low-rent apartment share, sublet or house-sitting arrangements anywhere in New York City starting right away. Call Peter Rothberg at *The Nation*, (212) 242-8400.

BED & BREAKFAST

CAMBRIDGE NEAR HARVARD. Homey, Victorian. Friendly scholarly ambiance. Safe, quiet, convenient, residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (617) 491-1306.

BOOKS

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK available again! $22, postpaid. Complete edition. Barricade Books, Box 1401-R, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

HATE VERMONT? Kill time at Lilac Hedge Bookshop with old and loved books. Across from Inn, Norwich, Vermont.

SPECIAL BOOK DISCOUNT
while supply lasts

FATE OF THE FOREST: DEVELOPERS, DESTROYERS AND DEFENDERS OF THE AMAZON, by Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn. Retail: $24.95. Available to *Nation* subscribers for $20, and to Nation Associates for $16.

TRAVELS WITH ALICE, by Calvin Trillin. Retail: $18.95. *Nation* subscribers: $14; Nation Associates: $12.50.

Please add $2/book for shipping and handling. New York State residents add sales tax.

Send orders to: The Nation Associates, Book Offer, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

THE SECRET MEANING OF LIFE: Hint #3, Republican women never get enough. Chocolate Egg Creams. 125 pages, satire, $5.95 pp. Hog Farm, P.O. Box 11044, Eugene, OR 97440.

THE PROFESSIONAL OPPRESSION OF AMERICA, A new book. Information: P.O. Box 1956, Beaufort, SC 29901.

BOOK SEARCH SERVICES

Wm CAXTON BOOK SEARCH, Box 709, Sister Bay, WI 54234. Send phone/address with wants. (414) 854-2955.

BOOK SEARCH SERVICES

AWAITING YOUR BOOK WANTS. Lorraine Zimmerman, Bookseller at Large. P.O. Box 5854, Berkeley, CA 94705. Locally: (415) 601-1868; nationally: (800) 728-2073.

STILL LOOKING FOR A BOOK? Free search. Sperling Books, Box 1766A, Madison Square Station, New York, NY 10159.

COMPUTERS

LONGTIME *NATION* EMPLOYEE, now computer consultant, is selling IBM-compatible computers and providing computer training and support to *Nation* readers in the New York City area. Special rates for nonprofit organizations and those on low incomes. Call Mark Rausher at Present Day Products (718) 934-2861.

CO-OPS FOR SALE

BROOKLYN—NORTH SLOPE CO-OP. Architect-designed duplex with brick and stone interior walls, custom closets, 1 bedroom, 1½ baths, spacious rec room, living room opening on garden. $99,000. Call (718) 935-2759 or 789-4653.

COUNSELING

PERSONAL PROBLEMS? Caring, mature, experienced clinical psychotherapist will help resolve them. Short-term treatment where possible. Sliding scale. New York City. (212) 466-6775; Nassau (516) 484-1249.

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 20+ years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

MINORITY MALE PSYCHOTHERAPIST (MSW), Professor at NYU—experienced, sensitive, liberal, adjustable fees, midtown Manhattan (Kips Bay). (212) 685-4918.

EDUCATION

CASA NICARAGÜENSE DE ESPAÑOL

All Nicaragua is a school!

A SPANISH LANGUAGE, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL STUDY CENTER IN MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

NOW MORE THAN EVER, FIND OUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN NICARAGUA!

- Study Spanish four hours daily at all levels
- Live with a Nicaraguan family.
- Travel to different regions of Nicaragua.
- Meet with representatives from government institutions and mass organizations.

For further information, please send self-addressed, stamped envelope to:

CASA NICARAGÜENSE DE ESPAÑOL
P.O. Box 15062
San Diego, CA 92115
(619) 583-5163

YEAR ROUND 2-8 WEEK SESSIONS

Want to brush up on a foreign language?

With AUDIO-FORUM's intermediate and advanced materials, it's easy to maintain and sharpen your foreign-language skills. We offer foreign-language mystery dramas, music, games, dialogues recorded in Paris and more. Call 1-800-243-1234 for FREE 32-p. catalog, or write: AUDIO-FORUM • Dept.655, Guilford, CT 06437

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDUCATION

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Work with Street kids in

ANGOLA

Create a new school for homeless children in Luanda.

Nine month group program includes intensive technical, language and documentation training before travel; community education upon return to the U.S.

Other programs to **Mozambique, Brazil** and **Central America.**

For free brochure and application:

IICD, P.O. Box 103-B, Williamstown, MA 01267. (413) 458-9828.

SPEAK FRENCH, SPANISH, or any of 59 languages as diplomats do, using same U.S. State Department easy self-study cassettes/textbook. Up to 50 percent savings! Call for free catalog. Audio Language Institute: (800) 722-6394.

A Masters With Meaning

Finally—an M.A. program where you study what's important to you. Design your studies supported by expert faculty, schedule around work & family commitments, no residency requirement. Earn your degree in 12-18 months. ACCREDITED. Low-residency B.A. also available. Vermont College of Norwich University, Box 750, Montpelier, VT 05602. Call 1-800-336-6794.

EVENTS

STUDENTS ORGANIZING STUDENTS

National Conference for Reproductive Freedom

October 12-14

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ

Registration/information:
Nina Chamyan, 1600 Broadway, Suite 905, New York, NY 10019
(212) 977-6710.

THE SUPREME COURT AND EQUAL PROTECTION: RACE, GENDER AND LAW FOR THE 1990S

A Conference at Bard College
Annandale-on-Hudson, NY 12504
Saturday, November 3, 1990 9 a.m. – 5 p.m.

Speakers:
Alan Freeman, Linda Chavez,
Randall Kennedy, Kathryn Abrams,
Charles Stephen Ralston, Jo Freeman.

Information and registration: Call Carol Nackenoff
Department of Political Studies
(914) 758-6822 ext. 230 or (914) 758-7430.
Funded in part by the New York Council for the Humanities.

BARD

MERCHANDISE

GOVERNMENT SEIZED vehicles from $100. Fords. Mercedes. Corvettes. Chevys. Surplus. Your area. (1) 805-687-6000, Ext. S-3596.

JESSE HELMS ON A DIRTY POSTCARD? Set of two, $2. Phantom Press, 4108 SE 16th, Portland, OR 97202.

MERCHANDISE

UNUSUAL GOURMET, NATURAL AND IMPORTED SOUPS. $5 for sample packet of three. Soups of the World, Dept. 274NA, 3104 "O" Street, Sacramento, CA 95816.

MISCELLANEOUS

ATTENTION: CHICAGO AREA *NATION* SUPPORTERS. Friends at Guild Books are busy organizing a 125th Birthday Party for *The Nation*. They need help. If you can lend a hand call Lew or Nancy at (312) 525-3667.

DON'T JUDGE US BY OUR GARISH SUMMIT! Friends of *The Nation* in Houston are planning a bash to celebrate *The Nation*'s 125th birthday. If you can help, or want more information, call Barry, evenings: (713) 524-5443; days: (713) 529-1440 or (713) 524-9839.

LAST CHANCE: *HAD ENOUGH?*

- Oily Cos. Gas-price Gouging
- Greedy-Grabber Piggy Bankers
- Insurance "Protection" Rackets
- Loot/Rape by Medical-Legal Professions
- "Government" by and for the Elite

TIME TO TERMINATE!

END this **MANIPULABUSE!** Fight Back with Focused Fury! Join **THE STAND** to regain Control: Plot & Action Models mailed you now for EFFECTIVE counter-attack on each above. Send $12 for service fee and postage to: THE STAND, P.O. Box 18774, St. Louis, MO 63118.

THIRD ANNUAL GRANT SEARCH. The Puffin Foundation Ltd. is particularly interested in fostering and encouraging younger artists who might find difficulty in having their works aired, due to its genre and/or its social philosophy. Our aim is to encourage the continuing dialogue between art and the lives of ordinary people through grants and other forms of support. We are requesting applicants who have new works or projects in the areas of fine arts, the written word and the performing arts to apply to the Foundation before December 31, 1990. Grants totaling $80,000 were made in 1989. The average grant amounted to $2,000. Applications for grants can be secured by request. The Puffin Foundation Ltd., CN 27, South Hackensack, NJ 07606.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS

A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $10 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER

links compatible singles concerned about peace, justice, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 555-A, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE®. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. 1-800-233-CMLS. Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured singles acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write: SBL, Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039, or call: (215) 358-5049.

PERSONALS

SINGLE MOTHER, 34, seeks sensitive, witty male companion, 30-45, for hiking, movies, conversation, maybe more? Nation Box 660.

AUSTRALIAN SJM, 31, seeks penpals for friendship and discussions on politics, religion, psychology, etc. Nation Box 661.

WIDOWER—seeking attractive woman, 65+, politically conscious. W.Bess, 2 Athenia Ave., Clifton, NJ 07013. (201) 471-6027.

SINGLE AGNOSTICS, atheists, humanists, Unitarians wanted, ages 18-101, male/female, local/nationwide. Box 181, Mentor, OH 44061-0181.

DF, SLIM AND PRETTY, with youthful mid-life joie de vivre, seeks sensuous gentle man with whom to share pleasures and progressive politics. Eros lights up all else in life. Nation Box 662.

HUMANISTIC, INTELLIGENT WOMAN with broad interests seeks friendship with thoughtful man, 60s. Fairfield County and environs. Nation Box 663.

WISTFUL IN WESTCHESTER—wonders if there isn't a man out there. Who may even be losing his hair. And dreams in the night of the joys of a life. With a woman who, too, has pondered the strife. Is serene, but, no longer as blissfully fair. 54, with a bent toward hiking, travel and the arts. Note and phone please. Nation Box 664.

TALL, ATTRACTIVE 31-year-old SJM physician, living in the Bay Area. I like Santana and Dylan, want to live on a farm (someday) and prefer traveling by canoe. Would like to meet a woman interested in similar. Nation Box 665.

ATHENS, GEORGIA, SWM, 26, seeks same (quiet, sensitive) to explore North Georgia and one another. Nation Box 666.

NYC AUTHOR/WRITER/TEACHER, DWM, 51, seeks creative, loving, politically progressive/socialist woman, 35-55. Nation Box 667.

PRINCETON: CLASSIC BEAUTY with warm heart, engaging wit, cultured tastes, gracious home, rewarding career, etc. etc.—invites an Ivy-tolerant embraceable homme du monde, 40s, to add spice to this pleasing, but too self-sufficient, life. Nation Box 668.

FEMALE, 43, 5'11", Rhode Island area, easily amused and often amusing, with diverse intellectual interests and active imagination seeks socially conscious man for friendship and further developments if compatible. Nation Box 669.

If responding to a Nation Box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible jobs and internships. Subscribe to the only nationwide newspaper listing, covering lobbying, organizing, environment, disarmament and more. $20/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box NAT, 1601 Connecticut Avenue,NW, #600, Washington, DC 20009.

WORK IN NICARAGUA

APSNICA is seeking volunteers in all fields, skilled and unskilled to work in Nicaragua. Architects, building tradespeople, computer personnel, engineers, mechanics, medical personnel, English teachers, planners and others are encouraged to contact us. Call: 213-455-1340; write: APSNICA P.O. Box 1151, Topanga, CA 90290.

RESIDENTIAL MANAGER: progressive artists/activists center seeks responsible, flexible, handy person/couple. $16,000 room, board and health insurance. Apply: H. Barlow, BMC, Blue Mountain Lake, NY 12812.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

GOVERNMENT JOBS $16,412-$59,932/year. Now hiring. Your area. Call (1) 805-687-6000, Ext. R-3596 for listings.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, Ohio Campaign for Global Security, a SANE/FREEZE affiliate. Organizing, fundraising and writing skills required. Knowledge of disarmament and peace issues helpful. Send letter and résumé immediately to: Ohio CGS, 780 King Avenue, Columbus, OH 43212.

TWO ASSOCIATE POSITIONS AVAILABLE. Progressive law firm in Newark, New Jersey, seeks two associates for work in labor law, employment/discrimination, compensation and personal injury with 1-5 years experience and top academic credentials. A demonstrated history of social commitment and admission to New Jersey bar required. Please send résumé and writing sample to: Ball, Livingston & Tykulsker, 108 Washington Street, Newark, NJ 07102. E.O.E.

POSITIONS DESIRED

INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE *NATION* INTERNS skilled in research, fact-checking, editing and writing looking for meaningful employment in New York, Boston, Washington and elsewhere. Available starting immediately. Call Peter Meyer at (212) 242-8400.

***NATION* RESEARCH INTERN** seeks full-time employment in New York or Washington, starting in September. Has staff experience in many phases of magazine journalism and a history of activism on the left in Britain and the United States. Call Eddie Harcourt at (212) 242-8400.

***NATION* INTERN** *seeks meaningful employment in feminist/* progressive organization in New York, Washington or Boston area. Skilled in research, writing, television production, French. Call April James at (212) 242-8400.

PUBLICATIONS

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $3 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

PUBLICATIONS

LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER — a monthly newsletter on economics and politics worldwide. "A salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals." — Alexander Cockburn. One year $18. Left Business Observer (Dept. N), 250 West 85th Street, New York, NY 10024.

NICARAGUA: La lucha continúa...
Barricada Internacional,
biweekly news from the FSLN.
Now bilingual. Sample free!
$35/year; $18/6 mo.
Barricada USA-N, PO Box
410150 SF, CA 94141

COOL TRAVELER NEWSLETTER—Box 11975, Philadelphia, PA 19145. Sample: $3; $10/year. A publication about PLACE.

THEY'RE GAMBLING WITH YOUR MONEY! Read *Dollars & Sense*—the progressive economics monthly—and learn how corporate and government practices affect your wallet and your life. Subscribe now to receive a special issue on international environmental economics. Introductory subscription: $14.95. *Dollars & Sense* (N), One Summer St., Somerville, MA 02143.

SCAPEGOATING THE BLACK FAMILY—Edited and written by black women, this important *Nation* issue debunks the myths and exposes the realities of the African-American family, institutional racism and society's failure to accept responsibility for its racial ills. Margaret B. Wilkerson, Jewell Handy Gresham, Faye Wattleton and others. With Ossie Davis. $3 per issue. Send check or money order to *The Nation*, Bulk Sales X, 72 Fifth Avenue. New York, NY 10011, or call (212) 242-8400 ext. 202 for bulk prices.

THE LORDS OF THE GLOBAL VILLAGE—Written by Ben H. Bagdikian, author of *The Media Monopoly*, this timely issue examines the alarming growth of the communications combines, explores the implications of the concentration of media ownership, and profiles the powerful press barons who threaten "freedom and diversity in global news, information and culture." Only $3 per issue. Send check or money order to *The Nation*, Bulk Sales X, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, or call (212) 242-8400 ext. 202 for bulk prices.

PUBLICATIONS

THE PROGRESSIVE—Enjoy Molly Ivins and June Jordan on a regular basis. Plus hardhitting editorials, investigative reporting and monthly interviews with leading activists. One Year: $18—half-price. And you'll get a free copy of *"Bring the Troops Home": Why the U.S. Should Not Be in Saudi Arabia. The Progressive*, 409 E. Main St., Dept. C, Madison, WI 53703.

William Carlos Williams, "nicht Doktor aber Student von Medizin," in Leipzig, 1910.
by William Eric Williams

DELOS, an international quarterly
4 issues $20. Box 2880 College Park Md 20740

REMEMBERING CAREY McWILLIAMS

100 Years of *The Nation*. Former editor Carey McWilliams summarizes and evaluates *The Nation*'s history at the 100-year point. Reprinted from *Journalism Quarterly* (1965), this concise essay is available again. An invaluable introduction and complement to the historic 120th Anniversary Issue.

On The Nixon Within Us. Cartoonist Jules Feiffer's eloquent essay honoring Carey McWilliams's gadfly journalism in an age of Nixonian valuelessness.

These two *Nation* special reprints are available as one package for $3 per set. Send check or money order to: McWilliams Reprints, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, "Promoting the Arts in Small Communities," $6. Special prices for bulk orders.

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Your area (1) 805-687-6000 Ext. GH-3596 for current repo list.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL! INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF, CHALLENGE. Scholarly booklet—$5, Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064 (Details: SASE).

SERVICES

EXPERT HOUSEPAINTER—and socially conscious, too. Prompt, neat, reasonable rates. Airless sprayer for large spaces. 10 years experience. References. Free estimate. Call and leave message: (718) 789-1944.

TRAVEL

HITCH A RIDE TO EUROPE ANYTIME on a commercial jet for $160 from the east coast, $269 from the west coast, or $229 from anywhere else. Call AIRHITCH®, (212) 864-2000.

Third World Reality Tours
Learn the issues firsthand. Meet with labor, religious, peace, and environmental organizers, gov. officials and scholars. Upcoming tours to Haiti & Dominican Republic, Appalachia, Brazil, Southern Africa & Central America. Contact:
Global Exchange 2141 Mission St., #202 San Francisco CA 94110

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates STANDARD $1.50/word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words each, abbreviations and zip codes as one. CLASSIFIED DISPLAY 1-inch minimum; camera-ready $60/column inch; not camera-ready $60/column inch plus a one-time setting charge of $15/inch. FREQUENCY DISCOUNTS For consecutive runs only; 4 ads for the price of 3; 10 for the price of 7; 25 for the price of 15. PERSONALS For individuals 2 ads for the price of 1, 4 for the price of 2, etc.; no other discounts apply; *Nation* box number/weekly forwarding service one-time charge of $10; for commercial advertisers standard rates apply.

Deadline Wednesday, 5 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

To THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ week(s), plus _____ week(s) free.

Be sure to include payment for *Nation* box number/forwarding service or classified display setting charge, if applicable.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment in U.S. currency must accompany order.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T-SHIRTS

WEAR THE NATION T-SHIRT!

These high-quality all-cotton T-shirts are black with white lettering. "The Nation" is printed on the front and "since 1865" on the back. They come in S, M, L and XL and are only $11.95 postpaid. For an even better deal, get 3 or more shirts for $9.95 each. Mail check or money order in U.S. currency to: The Nation, T-Shirts, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add 33%.)

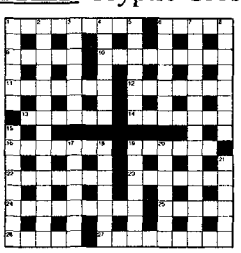
FREE BUTTON with FREE PROGRESSIVE T-SHIRT etc. CATALOG. Send S.A.S.E. to Alternative Graphics, P.O. Box 124-A, Buffalo, NY 14212.

WINTER RENTALS

SKI-SEASON RENTAL in Ludlow, Vermont. Beautiful farmhouse, ideally located near top ski areas. Cross-country/snowshoe on property. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, huge kitchen and living room with loft. $5,500 for season, November 15–April 15. Call (212) 529-0654.

X-WORD PUZZLES

FREE Cryptic Crossword Catalog!



American cryptics and our exclusive British imports. Write: Crosswords, PO Box 69H, Massapequa Park, NY 11762. Or call:

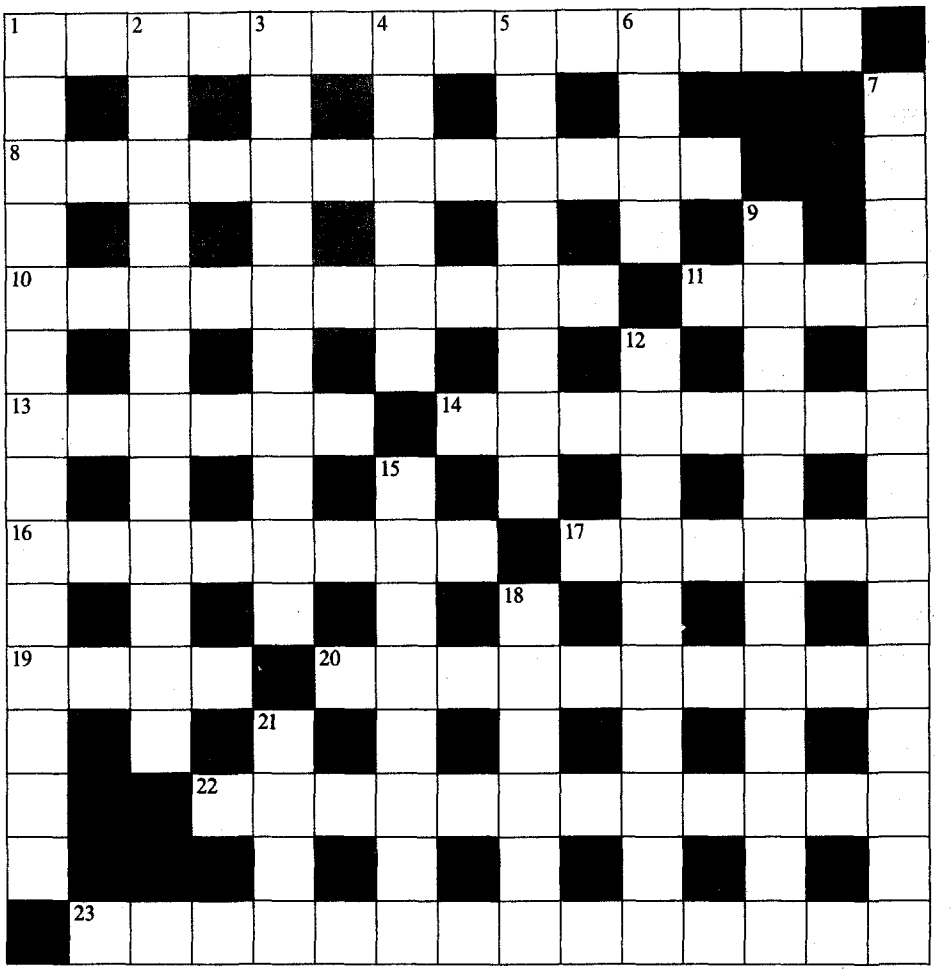
(1) 800-729-1999

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2306

D	R	A	W	B	R	I	D	G	E	■	C	A	P	E
E	■	I	■	U	■	N	■	E	■	W	■	D	■	F
M	A	R	B	L	E	S	■	R	E	A	D	M	I	T
O	■	F	■	L	■	I	■	M	■	S	■	I	■	S
C	H	O	R	E	O	G	R	A	P	H	E	R	S	■
R	■	I	■	T	■	H	■	N	■	I	■	E	■	H
A	L	L	O	P	A	T	H	■	U	N	E	S	C	O
T	■	■	■	R	■	■	■	■	■	G	■	■	■	R
I	N	F	L	O	W	■	H	A	T	T	E	R	A	S
C	■	I	■	O	■	E	■	G	■	O	■	E	■	E
■	P	E	R	F	E	C	T	I	O	N	I	S	T	S
A	■	R	■	I	■	Z	■	T	■	I	■	T	■	H
L	I	C	E	N	S	E	■	A	R	A	P	A	H	O
L	■	E	■	G	■	M	■	T	■	N	■	T	■	E
Y	A	R	D	■	W	A	T	E	R	S	H	E	D	S

Crossword Puzzle No. 2307

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 In a professorial manner, as some say. (6-8)
8 Play with frogs? That's what he did! (12)
10 Does one have to travel out on them? (10)
11 See 21 down
13 It's almost hell to be bankrupt, it seems! (We'll meet again if things are!) (6)
14 A bad person, i.e., colorless but volatile—engaged in the synthetics business. (8)
16 State aid is difficult when this is filled up. (8)
17 Went away, like your hair, perhaps. (6)
19 There seems to be a lack of transportation in the city at Christmas time! (4)
20 One can see the way through it! (Don't lose the cracked dish and the broken light-emitting diode.) (10)
22 This starts out with a no-no—then becomes mysteriously private about a point, when not working. (3-9)
23 The obese might like to be headed in this direction, but there's always space to feel it! (14)

DOWN

1 Certainly not a very professional quality. (14)
2 Change the guy at the plate? Probably not if he is one! (With head to tail, were these the men of Salem?) (6,6)
3 Not what one takes those stomach tablets for—even though it burns. (7,3)
4 A sticker on the chart—not quite getting the lay of the land down on paper. (3,3)
5 Sir William Osler called it the asepsis of clothes. (8)
6 When driving, one is told to keep his on the 11. (4)
7 A catfish badly needs direction with such an obstinate quality! (14)
9 A father, perhaps, he takes the proper measurement—to put into bowlegs (as some setters say). (12)
12 Leads the attack, with certain points being making old weapons dangerous. (Bartletts opened at a lean-to?) (10)
15 Detachable trailers, on numerous occasions poetic, but with an in-between consistency. (4-4)
18 It takes time at this place to stick! (6)
21 and 11 across Maybe 2 down likes to get home with it, though the dance evidently goes on and on! (4,4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. Find out why "little skipper" is a "truant." Send for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's Ground Rules to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERMANENT PLEASURES

Masters of Art

for **$39.95** (Pub. prices total $299.25)

For lovers of fine art, this glorious, fifteen-volume library is like a dream come true. Each handsomely bound book highlights the work of one of the world's greatest artists and features approximately 40 magnificent color plates, dozens of black-and-white illustrations and an extensive introductory text by a renowned art historian.

Joseph Campbell's Historical Atlas of World Mythology

for **$29.95** (Pub. prices total $250)

This masterwork—the culmination of Campbell's brilliant career—traces the saga of humankind's spiritual awakening. In five lavishly illustrated volumes, Campbell shows how our ancestors lived and what they believed, shedding new light on who we are and where we come from. Insightful, illuminating, challenging, the *Historical Atlas of World Mythology* is a vibrant introduction to the past—and to the mind of one of this century's greatest thinkers. 99 4-color maps; 1,152 photographs and drawings.

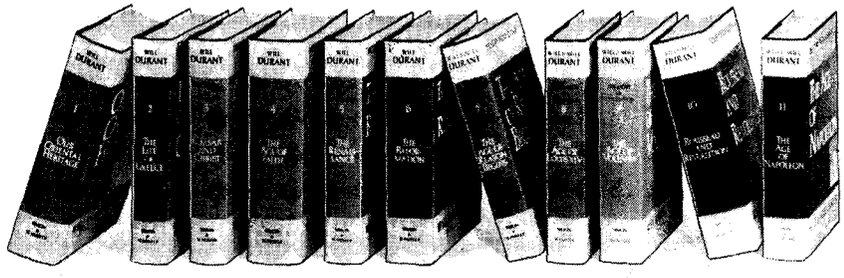
Choose one of these fine works and save up to $290.

You simply agree to buy 4 books within the next 2 years.

Heritage of Music

for **$22.95** (Pub. price $195)

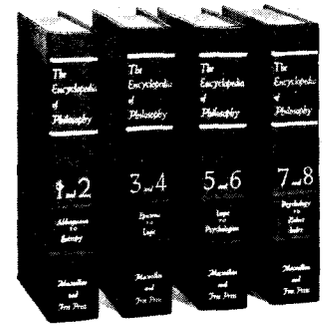
This magnificent four-volume set—unmatched in the authority of its writing and the beauty of its 2100 illustrations—presents an encyclopedic history of music from the Middle Ages to the present. For music lovers, it's like having the liner notes of your dreams.



The Story of Civilization by Will and Ariel Durant

for **$29.95** (Pub. prices total $335.45)

For almost half a century Will and Ariel Durant traced the continuity of world history—the religions and philosophies, the political and economic tides, the arts and sciences, the customs and conquests—to show the foundations of society today. A Book-of-the-Month Club exclusive for almost 50 years, the Durants' illustrated masterwork is history come alive.



The Encyclopedia of Philosophy

for **$24.95** (Pub. price $225)

Regarded as the most comprehensive encyclopedia of philosophy ever published, this superb set—compiled in collaboration with the world's foremost philosophers—encompasses aspects of ancient, medieval, modern, Eastern and Western thought. The four volumes represent an essential aid for students and a rewarding reference source.

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., P.O. Box 8803, Camp Hill, PA 17011-8803 © 1990 BOMC

Check one box only.

- ☐ **913.** The Story of Civ. **$29.95**
- ☐ **916.** Masters of Art **$39.95**
- ☐ **917.** Ency. of Philosophy **$24.95**
- ☐ **921.** Heritage of Music **$22.95**
- ☐ **934.** Hist. Atlas of Mythology **$29.95**

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the item I have checked at left, billing me for the appropriate amount, plus shipping and handling charges. I agree to buy four more books during the next two years. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

A128-10-3

Name _____ **0-64**

(Please print plainly)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Prices shown are U.S. prices. Outside the U.S. prices are generally higher. All orders subject to approval.

Facts About Membership. As a member you will receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*® 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Every issue reviews a Selection and more than 150 other books, which are carefully chosen by our editors. If you want the Selection, do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more other books—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the Reply Form and return it by the specified date. *Return Privilege:* If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit. *Cancellations:* Membership may be discontinued, either by you or by the Club, at any time after you have bought 4 additional books. Join today. With savings and choices like these, Book-of-the-Month Club is where book lovers belong.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED